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THE HITTITE EMPIRE

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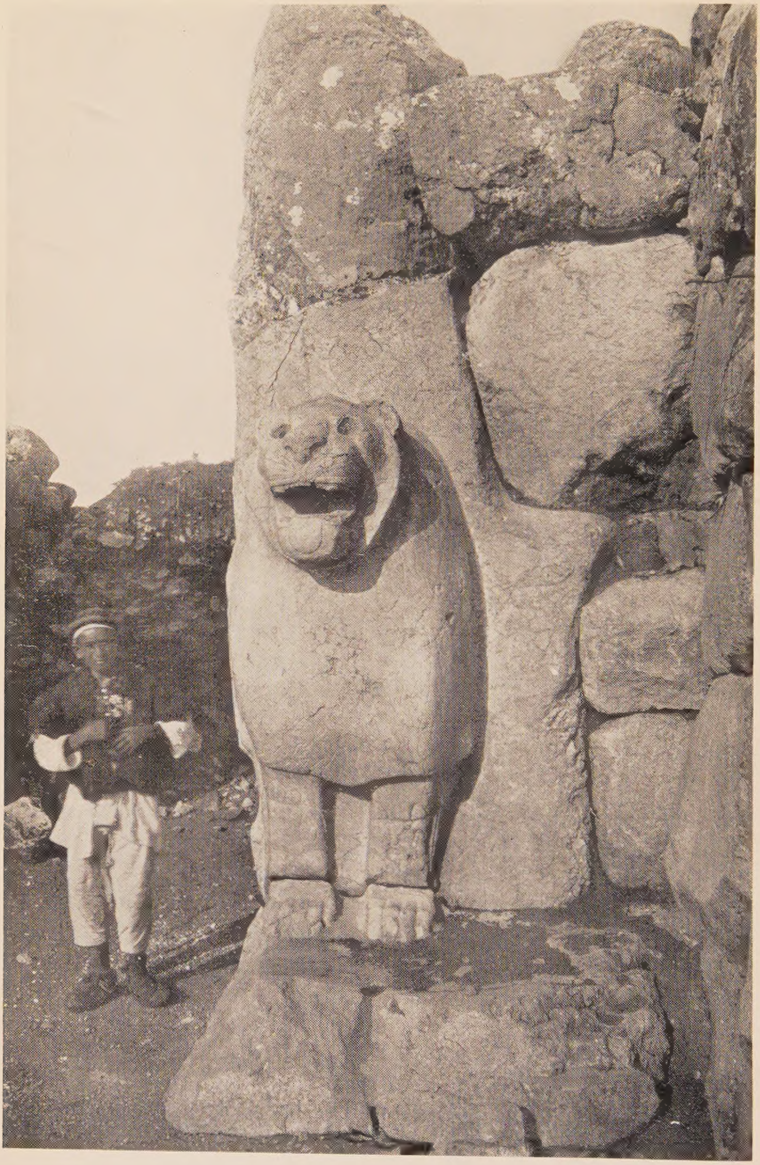

LION GUARDING THE WEST GATEWAY OF THE HITTITE CAPITAL.
See p. 84.

THE
HITTITE EMPIRE

BEING A SURVEY
OF THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY
AND MONUMENTS OF
HITTITE ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA

BY

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With
Maps, Plans, and
Illustrations

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PREFACE

Amid the series of modern discoveries by the Nile and the Euphrates, in Syria, and around the Aegean, the three achievements by which the forgotten Hittite Empire has been restored to its place in history are second to none in interest and importance. The first of these was Professor Sayce's reconstruction of the empire from its scattered archaeological fragments as long ago as 1888. The second was Dr. Winckler's recovery of royal Hittite libraries from the ruins near Boghaz-Keui in Asia Minor during 1906-7. The third was the demonstration of the Indo-European affinities of the official Hittite language by Dr. F. Hrozný in a series of monographs commencing in 1915. These were not available until after the close of the World War; but as a consequence of this clue, thousands of Hittite state archives and other documents became available for study, and they promise already to fill the whole gap in the history of Asia Minor between the rise of Babylon and the fall of Troy (2200-1200 B.C.).

The historical sections of the *Land of the Hittites*, published in 1910, contained a resumé of the historical first-fruits to be gathered from some of the texts that were in a Semitic language: these Dr. Winckler was able to publish in brief before his death, and their importance was transparent. The writer of these lines was in fact present at Boghaz-Keui at the time of this epoch-making discovery, and shared upon the spot Dr. Winckler's first impressions as to the ultimate value of the records, as soon as it became apparent that they were in part parallel and contemporary with the Amarna letters of the Egyptian Pharaohs of the fourteenth century B.C. But the translation of the 'native' languages, in which the majority of the tablets were written, baffled the early decipherers; and as there was little prospect of immediate developments a second edition of the book was prepared upon the old lines, and was well advanced when the war, and subsequently post-war obligations, caused it to be put on one side. When at last the opportunity came for completion a new and continuous series of texts was already commencing to flow from the pens of European scholars, working upon Professor Hrozný's clue; so that it was difficult to keep pace with the new progress of Hittite studies, and proved impossible for the time being to revise the historical sections of that book with any sense of finality.

The full interpretation of these new texts has been further complicated by the fact that many of the geographical names are not to be recognised in their Hittite forms. The problem did not appear difficult at first, for some of the names survived in Classical, Semitic, Egyptian, or modern forms; but these are relatively few, and mostly outside the confines of Asia Minor. In short, though several students and scholars have attempted to solve the problem, no one can claim to the satisfaction of the others to have made much progress as regards the position, grouping, and organisation of the central Hittite states. It becomes obvious that the difficulties must be tackled lower down, and that due account must be taken of the permanent known factors of the land, namely, the physical features and the lessons of historical geography.

For these reasons chiefly, the former work has been completely remodelled in the present volume, which receives accordingly a fresh title. Hittite history requires a volume to itself, and is here sketched only in outline. Travellers' tales are omitted, and sections are added on the leading physical features of the land and their influence in post-Hittite history. The main part of the work, including the descriptions of the monuments, has been rearranged from the same standpoint; and it is hoped that with these changes the book will prove useful as a work of reference, and serve its main purpose as an Introduction to Hittite Studies. To this end numerous fresh illustrations have been included, and a sketch map accompanies each chapter.

The author's thanks are due for assistance in various ways to many helpers. A well-proved friend, once a student and longer a colleague, the Rev. W. J. Phythian-Adams, D.S.O., M.C., M.A., with unstinted generosity has borne the brunt of the work of revision and proof reading. Among Jerusalem colleagues, Dr. Albright, Director of the American School of Oriental Research, the Very Rev. Père Dhorme, Director of the *École Biblique*, and Dr. Mayer, Inspector in the Department of Antiquities, in Syria M. Virolleaud, in Paris M. René Dussaud, in Germany Dr. Götze, and in England particularly the Rev. Professor Sayce, have one and all given ready help and information. From the United States, Professor T. Leslie Shear, of Princeton, and Professor James Henry Breasted, of Chicago, have been good enough to communicate additions of high interest and importance. Mrs. Robert Gurney has again helped in the construction and arrangement of this book; and Miss D. Vaughan has prepared the General Index.

The illustrations of this volume are chiefly derived from the writer's own photographs and drawings; indeed, many of the photographs appeared in the *Land of the Hittites*. The line drawings have been prepared through a number of years by different young artists, whose work it is not now possible to single out for separate acknowledgment, notwithstanding its merit. The extended drawing of the Iasily Kaya sculptures is particularly satisfactory, alike from the fidelity of the copies (from our photographs and notes) as for the mute gesture of vitality which the artist has imparted to the figures after the spirit of the originals. Mr. C. W. Hutton has completed the series, and arranged all for publication. The technical line illustrations of Chapter V. (Boghaz-Keui) and IX. (Sinjerli and Carchemish) are derived in some cases from the reports of the excavators themselves, of which it is hoped full and adequate acknowledgment is made in the text; while a number of outline drawings forming the comparative series of sculptures, also in Chapter IX., have been based on M. G. Pottier's valuable contribution, *L'Art Hittite.* To all these sources, authorities, and helpers the writer tenders his thanks, and expresses the sincere hope that he has treated their works and views with fairness and discretion.

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UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL,
Jan. 1, 1929.

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SPELLING OF PLACE NAMES

Italic Capitals	*ḪATTUSAS*	Hittite.
Small Capitals	PTERIA	Classical.
Plain (Roman) type	Boghaz-Keui	Modern.
Italics	*Kheta*	Other Sources.

[*Plain type is also used where there is no liability to confusion.*]

ABBREVIATIONS

A.J.S.L.	*American Journal of Semitic Languages.*
B., *A.R.*	Breasted: *Ancient Records* (*of Egypt*).
B.S.A.	*British School at Athens.*
B.S.A.J.	*British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem.*
C.A.H.	*Cambridge Ancient History.*
Fo., *Bo.T.U.*	Forrer: *Boghazköi Texte in Umschrift.*
G., *L.H.*	Garstang: *Land of the Hittites.*
H.K.B.	*Hethitische Keilschrifttext aus Boghazköi.*
Hr., *Bo.St.*	Hrozný: *Boghazköi Studien*, vol. iii.
Ix.H.N.	*Index of Hittite Names.* (*B.S.A.J.*, Suppl. No 1.)
J.E.A.	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
J.H.S.	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
J.P.O.S.	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.*
J.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
K.Bo.	*Keilschrifttext aus Boghazköi.* Vols. thus: 1 *K.Bo.* 2 *K.Bo.*, etc.
K.U.B.	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.*
L.A.A.	*Liverpool Annals of Archaeology.*
M.D.O.G.	*Mitteilungen d. Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
M.V.A.G.	*Mitteilungen d. Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.*
O.L.Z.	*Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.*
P.E.F.	*Palestine Exploration Fund.*
R., *H.G.*	Ramsay, Sir Wm.: *Historical Geog. of Asia Minor.*
S.B.A.	*Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
Z.D.M.G.	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.*

THE HITTITE EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

The Hittite Tribes of Anatolia: Fusion and Organisation. The Ḫattic Kings. Homelands and Empire. Kingship and Society. Foreign Policy: relations with Egypt and Assyria. The European Danger: Fall of the City of Ḫatti. Assyria, Phrygia and the Muski. Hittite survivals in Syria: Tyanitis: Phrygia and Lydia. Lessons of the Persian, Roman, and Seljuk Occupation of Asia Minor.

Our earliest glimpse of political conditions in Asia Minor is afforded by certain cuneiform documents which modern scholarship assigns to the centuries preceding 2500 B.C.[1] These disclose the country divided at first into a number of city-states, or of tribal areas ruled from central cities from which they took their names. Prominent among these were *ḪATTI*[2] and *KUSSAR*.[3] There next ensued an internal struggle among these political divisions for the supremacy of the whole, during which the kings of Kussar seem at first to have gained the upper hand. The further development of the situation is not clear. Kussar became the first capital of the now fusing tribes; but the ultimate ascendancy of Ḫatti over their most powerful rival is suggested by the fact that soon after 2000 B.C. the royal residence and seat of government were established at the City of Ḫatti [1] which thereafter was known as *ḪATTUSAS*.[2] This was situated in the north-east of the plateau, within the circuit of the HALYS River. The modern village of Boghaz-Keui lies at the foot of the ruined city, which is apparently the same as that later called PTERIA by Herodotus,[3] and is so marked on many maps.

---

[1] Of the age of Sargon and Naram-Sin of Akkad. See for the Hittite Texts, Fo., 2 *Bo.T.U.* 1, 1922, Nos. 1-4, 7, 23. For translations and notes, Sayce, *Anct. Egypt*, 1923, 4, pp. 98 ff. For the parallel document found at Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt see Weidner, *Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien*, in 4 *Bo. Stu.*, 1922, pp. 57 ff.; also Albright, *The Epic of the King of Battles: Sargon of Akkad in Cappadocia*, in *J.P.O.S.*, 1923, pp. 1 ff.

[2] Ḫatti (pronounced Khatti), though in origin probably a tribal name, is always used in a geographical sense: among a thousand instances in the texts there is no exception to the usage. Consequently, we shall employ the word Ḫattians to distinguish the people of Ḫatti. The lands or territory of Ḫatti had also no distinctive name, being referred to in Hittite fashion as 'the Land of the City of Ḫatti,' and we shall speak of the Land of Ḫatti in this sense, as did the Egyptians and Assyrians, where no confusion arises. The word 'Hittite,' derived from the same stem, has become familiar from Biblical references of later times to kindred peoples in Syria. We shall accordingly use the word 'Hittite' both as noun and verb in the wider or imperial sense, distinguishing as Ḫattic that which pertains peculiarly to the central domain or culture of Ḫatti.

[3] There is no definite indication as to the identity of *KUSSAR* or *KUSSARA* (*Index H.N.*, p. 30). Some philologists have suggested its

While the establishment of a recognised leadership (though doubtless frequently disputed) led to the gradual development of a central government and system of administration, it added at once great strength to the military forces at the disposal of the Ḫattic kings. Soon they became strong enough to descend from TAURUS and overwhelm Aleppo,[4] which was already one of the most powerful centres of

identity with GARSAURA, but this name appears independently as *KURSAURA* in texts of the early period. It is tempting also to see in it an early form of KIZARI (Strabo, XII. iii. 38, *var.* IKIZARI) near Lake STIPHANE (Ladik Geul), described by Strabo as a royal seat in ruins. This suggestion is, however, not supported by the contexts which group *KUSSAR* with *ḪURMA* and *SAMUḪA*, and the two latter sites are located independently in or near COMMAGENE (for the contexts see *Index H.N.*, pp. 23, 40); they may prove, in fact, to be identical respectively with URIMA and SAMOSATA. Kussar may then reasonably be sought in Eastern Taurus as Professor Sayce suggests (*The Original Home of the Hittites* in the *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1928, pp. 260 ff.). This position would suit well the historical background, and would explain the strong and durable Hittite influence in this area.

[1] There is considerable ambiguity on this point. Some of the later Ḫattic kings styled themselves also Kings of Kussar, and it is possible that the Kings of Kussar established themselves for strategical reasons at the city of Ḫatti (cf. ch. iv. at the end). The situation would be more readily explained if it could be shown that the Kings of Kussar who founded Ḫattusas were themselves Ḫattic conquerors, as would seem likely.

[2] The name seems to interchange with 'The City of Ḫatti' in certain religious texts.

[3] Herodotus, i. 76.

[4] Lu., *A.J.S.L.*, 1921, p. 188, ll. 11-14. Weidner, *Polit. Dok.*, 8 *Bo. Stu.*, p. 83. For sketch map, see p. 25.

Northern Syria, and to push beyond and down the Euphrates as far as Babylon, which they sacked. This event (dated approximately 1925 B.C.) is recorded in parallel passages in the archives both of Babylon [1] and of Ḫatti,[2] and clearly marked an epoch in the annals of both. The ruling dynasty of Babylon, the first that had reigned from that city over Babylonia as a whole, was overthrown, and a new dynasty, that of the Sea-Peoples, next came to power. On the other hand, though the Ḫattic king retired without apparent effort to retain a hold over the country, this demonstration must have gained prestige for his throne, while the booty which he and his followers acquired from this and similar raids could not fail to strengthen the ties that were gradually binding his peoples into one. The records give as yet only sparse glimpses of the next few centuries, during which, however, it appears that a Ḫattic king claimed dominion over Damascus.[3] In contemporary history of Egypt these obscure centuries cover the period of 'Hyksos' domination; and though this fact can hardly have had direct bearing upon political developments beyond the Taurus mountains, yet it does appear that it was accompanied by the establishment upon the upper Euphrates of a powerful state called *Ḫ*ANIGALBAT, which embraced at one time Aleppo and Malatia,[4] and so for the time being barred the way to Ḫattic aspirations towards the South and East.

Meanwhile in Asia Minor, though documents of the period are still largely unintelligible, it is to be inferred clearly from the state of things revealed when the light of history emerged from this eclipse that the kings of Ḫatti had been building upon the foundation already laid. Certain it is that, when Subbiluliuma came to the throne about 1400 B.C., the way was prepared for a great expansion. From this time the records of two centuries are continuous and fairly clear. The early distinction between the districts bordering upon the original confines of Ḫatti had now been nearly effaced. The central city states had become welded as a group, under the acknowledged rule of the Ḫattic kings, with a common constitution, system of administration, official language and religious practice. While the combination was doubtless feudal in origin, the bonds were now so tight that it formed in effect a central kingdom.[1] This stage had obviously not been attained without difficulties and even resistance ; but it is to be inferred from the relatively settled and accepted condition of this inner group, that the 'Great King' had begun to weed out from this area the disaffected lines of chieftains and to replace them by those whose loyal service or blood relationship ensured by common interest the stability of his throne.[2] The consolidation of the Ḫattic authority did not end there. The forces of the crown had crossed the ranges that fringe the plateau and descended upon the Mediterranean coastlands, notably those towards the South, where well-watered plains and harbours looking to the sea have always tended to foster political independence. Some, if not all, of these coastal areas, the precise boundaries of which are still debatable, had been brought within the dominion of the Ḫattic kings, upon terms of alliance or forced allegiance defined by treaties and involving always a proportion of military service.[3]

---

[1] King, *Chronicles*, i. pp. 168-9.

[2] Treaty between King Mursil II. and Rimisharma King of Aleppo, 1 *K.Bo.*, No. 6, obv., ll. 13-14. For translations, see note 4, p. 2.

[3] *DAMASḪUNAS*: cf. Forrer, 2 *Bo.T.U.*, 23 A. III., etc.

[4] Cf. Forrer, *M.D.O.G.* 61, pp. 20 ff.

It would appear, too, from frequent lists of *hiera*, or sacred places, which in some cases can be recognised and located, that the Ḫattians had fortified their position on the eastern plateau against possible aggression from Ḫanigalbat or other rivals to the East by occupying the passes and strategic positions of the Anti-Taurus ;[4] so that when the latter state began to disintegrate, they were well placed to secure their hold of Malatia with the neighbouring fords of the Euphrates, and also of Marash, the key to Syria, the possession of which was all-important to their own safety and essential to their hopes of empire in those directions. In northernmost Syria, indeed, it would appear from archaeological investigations that Hittite cultural influence and infiltration had been steadily maintained. In any case, from the age of Subbiluliuma, this area became unquestionably a part of the Ḫattic dominion, and a centre for more extended operations.[1] Finally that king, by a successful campaign which swept over northern Mesopotamia and past Aleppo to the Orontes valley, not only established his suzerainty over the land of Mitanni which lay between the Euphrates and the Tigris, but secured his dominion over Northern Syria where Carchemish, Aleppo, Barga, and Nuḫasse were among the leading principalities.[2] Princes of his house were installed, whether as rulers or in command of troops, in several of these districts ; so that by this one well-conceived strategic blow he not only placed a buffer state between himself and the growing menace of Assyria in the East, but replaced in power and prestige the Pharaohs of Egypt who had formerly claimed the suzerainty of Syria. The weakening grip of Egypt under Amenhetep III. and IV. won for him under these circumstances the alliance of the powerful Amorite chieftains of Central Syria,[3] and so opened the way for penetration even into Palestine, where evidences of this southward extension are found at Beisan, Megiddo and Jerusalem.[4]

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[1] Feudal elements in the constitution are seen here and there. But there is more plentiful documentation as to the relations of the Ḫattic kings with non-Hittite allies, in which the feudal basis is plain. See below, pp. 67-9.

[2] The process continued visibly as the dominion expanded. Cf. the title 'Prince of Gasga,' p. 68.

[3] See for example the Annals of Mursil's Campaigns in Arzawa, *K.Bo.* 2 and 3, trans. by Hrozný, 3 *Bo. Stu.*, *Heth. Keilsch. Texte aus Boghaz Köi*, especially rev., ll. 21, 25, 31. Also the subsequent treaties with Mira and Kuwalia, 4 *K.Bo.* 3, etc. Cf. below, p. 68 and p. 180.

[4] Argued from the disposition of the monuments and shrines ; cf. below, ch. viii. p. 193 ; and *J.E.A.*, xi., 1925, p. 25, n. 3.

The empire founded and organised by Subbiluliuma was maintained by his successors for more than a hundred years ; and notwithstanding periods of rebellion and local disaffection, it may be inferred that during this time the whole of Asia Minor as well as Syria was brought within its bounds. It continued to be administered from Ḫattusas, where in the palace-ruins the archives of these reigns have been recovered.[5] It comprised two principal groups of states.

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[1] Below, ch. ix. p. 236 ; from the results of excavations at Carchemish and at Sinjerli. Cf. also Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites*, pp. 8, 23, and Pottier, *L'Art Hittite*, p. 99.

[2] Hrozný, 3 *Bo. Stu.*, No. 5, etc.

[3] Cf. Treaty of Subbiluliuma with Aziru, Weidner, *Pol. Dok.*, 8 *Bo. Stu.*, p. 71 *sq.*

[4] Below, pp. 330-3.

[5] By Dr. Winckler in his excavations of 1906-7. The first notices and translations of some Semitic texts were given by him in the *M.D.O.G.*, 1907, No. 35. The clue to our present knowledge of the official Hittite language was given to the world by Dr. Hrozný in 1917, *Die Sprache der Hethiter* (Boghaz-Köi Studien, No. 1) : the texts are being zealously

Closest to Ḫatti were those which, being originally akin in blood or early occupied, had shared from the first the fortunes of its kings. These were not only held together by common interest and prosperity, in addition to the bonds of military organisation, but were becoming welded by increasing fusion of blood-relationship, primarily among their ruling families, but inevitably affecting also the stock of their peoples. This group, as defined by the position of the visibly related monuments of these times, included the vicinity of the capital together with the eastern plateau and Anti-Taurus, with extensions to Malatia and northernmost Syria near Marash.[1] The central position of the region thus defined lay in the highlands of Anti-Taurus, which by its nature also must have had great importance in the military organisation. The capital was placed, as we have seen, in the North, and in course of time the whole plateau towards the West came within its influence and control. Outside this group lay the ring of states and countries which the empire had enfolded, bound to the centre by treaties which defined their boundaries and the obligations of their chiefs to the throne, including the supply of soldiers for the Great King's army, and active participation in certain of his wars.[2] Some of these states were separated from the land of Ḫatti by physical barriers, and their leaders were often unwilling vassals, ever ready to seize an opportunity to throw off their allegiance. The principalities of the southern coast, protected by Taurus, and those lying immediately to the east of the capital in the highlands of Lesser Armenia, are seen frequently in rebellion.[3] Beyond this imperial confederation again lay a certain number of organised states that were outside the range of effective control, but were secured as allies, such as the Amorite area

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transcribed and studied by several German scholars, among whom Weidner, Götze, Friedrich, and Forrer have made noteworthy contributions to our materials. Their works are quoted in our list of abbreviations. For the full bibliography see Contenau, *Bibliographie Hittite* (Paris, 1922), a work of 126 pages, and the supplement (Paris, 1927) of 58 pages, in which the publications are scheduled year by year and also classified.

[1] See below, p. 189.

[2] Cf. below, ch. iv. pp. 67-9.

[3] See the records of Mursil's Campaigns in Gasga and Arzawa, Hrozný, 3 *Bo. Stu.*, No. 6; also historical allusions in the treaty with Kizzuwadna, 1 *K.Bo.* 5, ll. 1-33, published by Luckenbill, *A.J.S.L.* (1921), pp. 180-1, and Weidner, *Pol. Dok.*, 8 *Bo. Stu.*, p. 89.

of Central and Southern Syria, and in the far corners of the peninsula the districts of the later Caria and the Troad.[1] In this age of imperial ascendancy it would not be difficult to arrange with these states treaties and military relations that were mutually advantageous.

Such treaties and official documents of imperial character were frequently renewed, as often as not after periods of rebellion, and they disclose a rooted respect for historical precedents. These records have now a special value, enabling us to trace not only the course of political developments, but to a more limited extent the history of the constitution. The whole of the imperial and central administration became highly organised, with appropriate officials in charge of departments, all of whom took an oath of loyalty to the throne. Even the household staff and functionaries were similarly ‘sworn in.’ Notwithstanding the absolute and sacred character of the kingship, some democratic elements of government came into being, doubtless the result of the increasing complication of imperial and state affairs. A form of national assembly, possibly old in practice, appears now to have been recognised in an advisory capacity.[2] Princes of the states attended its meetings, and some of these held also high titles or offices at the court. Similar local assemblies, it seems, were a national institution, assisting the local chiefs and headmen in their provincial or municipal affairs. The laws in practice were now codified, and their administration was entrusted to special law-officers. Particularly instructive are the clauses dealing with women's rights, the status of slaves, sexual offences, tithes and inheritance.[3] Social equity and order were marked aspirations of the day, and the same spirit is reflected in various ways. Under such conditions civilisation, as judged by the equitable organisation of government and of society as a whole, advanced far beyond the normal attainment of the oriental monarchies. The traces of culture as reflected in the visible monuments do not, however, show any such aptitude for the plastic arts as that which distinguished Egypt, being more on a parallel with the cruder technique of Assyria, though excavation will in due time, perhaps, modify this impression. Of one thing there is no doubt: the distribution of these monuments, far from being confined to a single area or milieu, attests a widespread and general prosperity. Roads radiated on all sides from the capital, linking up cities and states, facilitating military enterprise and the maintenance of authority and order. The main roads to Asia and to the Aegean coast remained in use as a through line of communication long after their original focus had ceased to have any political or military significance.[1] Walled cities rose in many places, and in those which were of sufficient importance the palaces of the local prince or priest-king were faced with decorated stone façades.[2] The capital itself remains even in its ruins a wonderful memorial of the past.[3]

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[1] See below, ch. vii. pp. 169, 179.

[2] Forrer, *M.D.O.G.* 61, pp. 20 ff., from unpublished documents.

[3] Hrozný, *Code Hittite* (Paris, 1922).

The Great King himself was the recognised head of the army and usually an active leader of troops. He was also chief priest of the gods, and in times of national crisis, as on the eve of war, he fulfilled the appropriate rites in person. At seasonal festivals he was accompanied by his queen, who by her position, in some cases hereditary, was also priestess of the leading goddess.[4] The mating of the two chief deities reflects the sanctity of marriage, no less than the high position accorded to the queen, who took her part in state affairs. The kingship was thus complex, and due regard was paid to the responsibilities of the office. Both as priests and as soldiers the young princes, heirs to the throne, received a special training, and gained experience by successive appointments gradually increasing in importance.[5] Statecraft was learnt by similar practical stages, and the result justified the steps taken to ensure their efficiency. The far-sightedness of the later Ḫattic leaders in diplomacy, and their mastery of military tactics, disclose indeed a developed genius; and it is instructive to observe a continuity of policy attuned to the changing needs of the situation throughout several generations. Before the incursion into Syria, Ḫatti had been allied with its eastern neighbour and rival

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[1] See below, pp. 70-7, and cf. Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 28 f.

[2] See Pls. XXIX., XLVII.

[3] See ch. iv. and Pl. XVII.

[4] Cf. Egyptian treaty, Seal, rev., B., *A.R.*, iii. 391^c; also Ḫattusil (*infra*), App., 2 *K.Bo.* 29, col. i. ll. 16-18.

[5] See the instructive Document of Ḫattusil (*c.* 1270 B.C.), especially i. ll. 19, 25, 26, 56 ff.; ii. l. 12; iii. l. 14, etc. Transcribed and translated by Götze: 'Ḫattusilis,' *M.V.A.G.*, 1924 (Leipzig, 1925).

Ḫarri,[1] against the combination of Mitanni and Egypt. The next move was to combine with Mitanni and isolate Egypt. But when Assyria arose and leagued with Ḫarri, the Ḫattic king promptly made an alliance with Egypt, the former enemy, against that combination. The contested line at the beginning had lain East to West; it now lay North to South.

This development in the international situation brings us to the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C. when the Pharaohs Seti I. and Ramses II. made a last effort to regain the lost territories of Egypt in Palestine and Syria. The inevitable collision occurred at Kadesh on the upper Orontes, about 1288 B.C. The Hittite forces were assembled in full strength, reinforced by contingents even from the distant Troad;[2] and though they were not well handled at a moment when decisive victory was within their grasp, the Pharaoh's effort spent itself in vain.[3] It was, as we have indicated, the expansion of Assyria, coupled with a new menace from the side of Europe, rather than the vaunted valour of the Pharaoh, that induced the next Hittite ruler (Ḫattusil) to make overtures some years later for peace and alliance, ratified about 1276 B.C. by a formal treaty.

The presence of Dardanian allies in the ranks of the king of Ḫatti in his imperial wars, indicates the wide range of the Great King's power and influence at the time; and this is confirmed by the disposition of the monuments, which will be seen in a later chapter to range as far as the western coasts near EPHESUS and SMYRNA.[4] At the same time this new factor introduces an aspect of the political situation for which the natural defences of the Ḫattic realm were ill adapted. So long as Hittite forces occupied the passes of Taurus, their position on the plateau was impregnable from the side of Asia.[1] The earliest efforts of Egypt and Assyria never passed that frontier. But towards the West the river estuaries lay exposed and the valleys themselves gave access to the plateau. In the North-west also the Hellespont and the Bosphorus were like open doors, inviting rather than restraining invasion from the Balkans and the Danube. So long as European societies had remained unorganised, the penetration of roving tribes had been a matter of no special concern; and even now that young Europe was growing and astir, the Dardanian alliance closed for the time being one of the paths of danger. But the Achaeans were already on the seas, raiding Cyprus and the coasts of Egypt, and eager to secure a footing in the south-west of Asia Minor;[2] while if the references in Homer are not anachronistic, Phrygian bands from Thrace and their companions were already beginning to cross the Straits from Europe and to ascend the valley of the SANGARIUS.[3] Documents of the thirteenth century, though not wholly intelligible, show that the kings of Ḫatti were awake to this emergency, making strenuous endeavours by fresh alliances, diplomacy, and military measures, to stave off the menace to their throne and territory.[4]

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[1] *Ḫarri*, in our view, corresponded generally with Armenia east of the Euphrates as far as Lake Van, whence on the North the Ḫarrians entered into the politics of the northern city states including *Teburzia* (1 *K.Bo.*, No. 1, obv.) and on the South descended in raid and conquest into Northern Mesopotamia, where they came into contact, and ultimately into political relations, with the Mitannians (Treaty, 1 *K.Bo.*, No. 2, col. 11). See the sketch map at the end of this chapter, p. 25.

[2] See the instructive monograph on *Hittite and Trojan Allies*, by W. J. Phythian-Adams, in Bulletin No. 1 of the British School of Archaeology, 1922. Also P. Giles in *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, ii. pp. 8 ff.

[3] Breasted, *A.R.*, iii. 325.

[4] Below, pp. 172 ff.

But the tide of migration already setting strongly south-east by land and sea could not be long restrained. The fall of Troy was only an incident in the great movement of young peoples from Europe that swept onwards as far as the borders of Egypt, and overwhelmed the Ḫattic power.[5] Asia Minor was overrun and Hittite peoples were translated by the pressure towards the South. While the outline of the catastrophe is fairly clear, the detail is obscure. The Ḫattic records ceased with the destruction of the palace,

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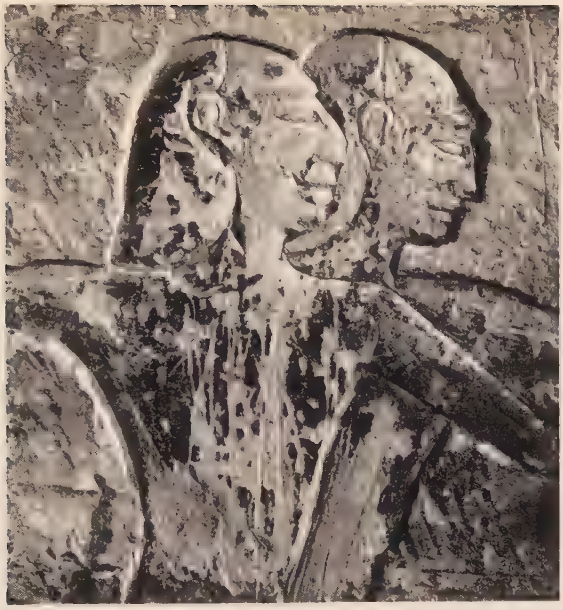
[1] Below, ch. iv. at the end.

[2] Cf. Forrer, *M.D.O.G.* 63, p. 9; but see also Götze, *Maduwattas*, pp. 147 ff. Achaean and kindred bands raided the coasts of Egypt in the age of Merneptah, *c.* 1226 B.C. Breasted, *A.R.*, iii. 579.

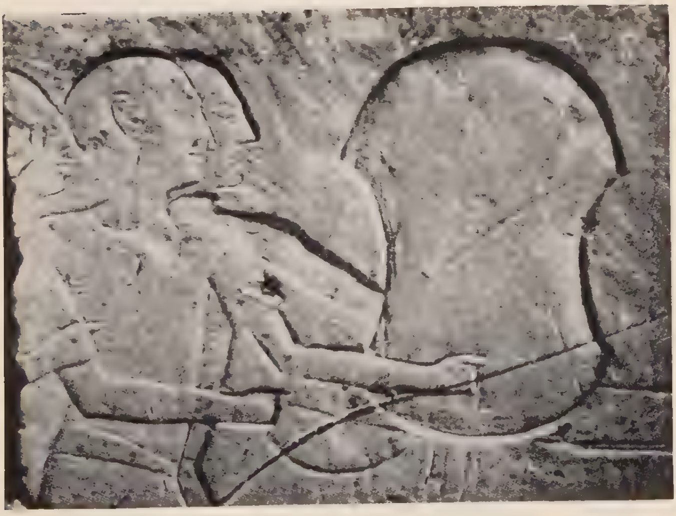
[3] Homer, *Iliad*, iii. 187, xvi. 719.

[4] *E.g.* 14 *K.U.B.* No. 15 (Bo. 202) and 15 *K.U.B.* No. 34, p. 39. Cf. particularly Götze, *Maduwattas*, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 6.

[5] In the age of Ramses III., *c.* 1196 B.C. *The Countries* [of . . . and] *the northerners in their isles were disturbed . . . Not one stood before their hands, from Ḫatti . . . Kodë . . . Carchemish . . . Wasted was their Camp in Amor.* Cf. Breasted, *A.R.*, iv. 64, on the 'Camp in Amor,' and see below, p. 326.



(i) Hattic Aristocracy.



(ii) Western Allies.

HITTITES AND THEIR ALLIES.

Charioteers at the Battle of Kadesh: Temple of Ramses II. at Abydos.
See p. 9.

and for some centuries there is no further light from within as to the development of events. Doubtless the restless peoples of the North-east and the unwilling vassals of the South took such advantage of the changed circumstances as the stir of these times permitted. There is, however, something to be gleaned from contemporary external sources. Assyrian armies advancing in the twelfth century B.C. against the former frontiers of Ḫatti upon the Euphrates found themselves in conflict with a people whom they called Muski; and four centuries later, after possessing themselves of Northern Syria, when they moved by way of Cilicia against the plateau of Asia Minor, they found the 'Muski' established within Taurus.[1] Amid this paucity of documentation, it is possible to argue that the Muskians may have been 'Mitannian Hittites' in retreat,[2] or alternatively that they represent a southern branch of Ḫatti that replaced the former dynasty upon the plateau around Tyana. On the other hand, the tribal name Muski does not appear in the Hittite documents, while the leader's name Mita is identical with the later throne name of the Phrygian kings, and actually occurs upon a Phrygian inscription at Tyana.[3] The suggestion is that the Muski of the Assyrian texts, the *Moschi* of Herodotus,[4] were really the first of the Phrygian immigrants from Thrace, and that the throne of Ḫatti fell before them, or during the movement in which they shared.

While it is not possible at present to determine the active cause of the fall of the Ḫattic dynasty, nor to trace the sequence of events, one issue seems certain, that for some reason both the Assyrian and the Muskian efforts were foiled for a period of about two centuries, during which the latent vitality of the Hittite organisation disclosed itself in several fields. In Syria the chief city-states like Carchemish and Aleppo, and numerous smaller ones, banded themselves together after the old Ḫattic tradition as military groups, defying Assyria in repeated combines, and even in defeat maintaining and developing their own peculiar culture.[5] Their own monuments and the records of Assyrian triumphs are all that remain to tell of their survival; but these reflect the reality of the history of these times, which finds an echo even in the chronicles of Israel from the far South in Palestine, where the name of the 'Kings of the Hittites' and their fame in war was calculated to strike terror into the imagination.[1] There too, particularly under Mount Hermon, the Biblical records tell of settlements of Hittites; but whether those colonies were founded during the stress of these days, or as is more likely had followed some earlier penetration of the Hittite armies into central Syria, the present lack of archæological evidence leaves us still in doubt.[2]

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[1] Winckler, *Ostorient. Forsch.*, ii. 71 ff.

[2] Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites*, pp. 56 ff.

[3] Pl. IV., also *Liv. A.A.*, i. Pl. XIII.

[4] iii. 94 and vii. 78.

[5] Note particularly the monuments of Sinjerli, below, pp. 237 ff.

In the Taurus area that reached out to the Euphrates the struggle was maintained to a bitterer end. Time after time the hardy mountaineers united in desperate resistance against the invaders, and if the punishment inflicted on them by successive Assyrian expeditions was anything like that depicted in the records, it lends to the story of their tenacity and bravery the glamour of heroism. Nevertheless in 712 the region was finally conquered, and Marash, the last city to fall, was taken about 709 B.C. The memory of this struggle is not without special interest in our inquiry, for the area of Anti-Taurus and Taurus formed the central military position of the Ḫattic Empire, and must in consequence have been highly organised. There, also, were some of the oldest and most revered sanctuaries of the Hittite peoples;[3] and at some of these, notably at COMANA[4] as at DOLICHE,[5] the old worships survived almost undisguised until well down into the Roman epoch, more than a thousand years after the fall of Ḫatti.

Meanwhile towards the south of the plateau of Asia Minor another group of Hittite monuments sprang up near the foot of Taurus.[6] This district had old Tyana as its most important city, and the later name TYANITIS usefully denotes its general position. But Tyana itself was already a centre

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[1] Cf. 2 Kings vii. 6.

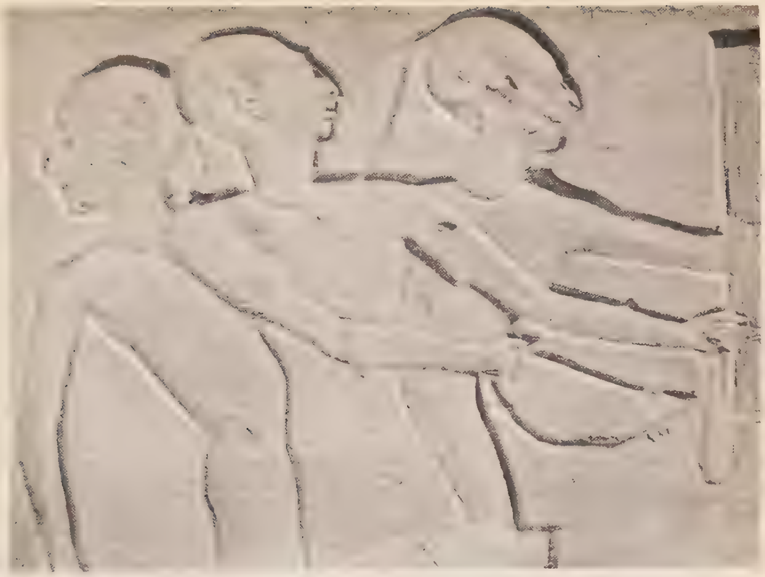
[2] Narratives of the Patriarchs reflecting Pre-Hyksos conditions, however, regard Hittites like Amorites as familiar members of the population, and certain passages in the Tell-el-Amarna letters tend to confirm the early date of Hittite penetration to the South.

[3] Below, ch. viii. p. 194.

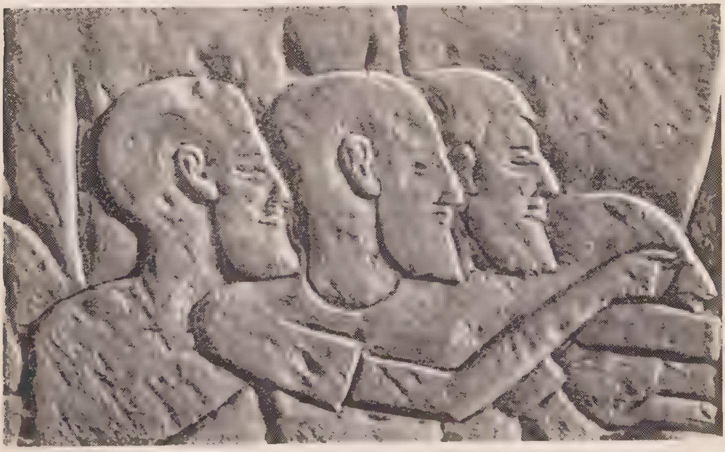
[4] *Liv. A.A.*, vi. pt. 3, p. 115.

[5] See below, p. 302, and cf. *The Syrian Goddess*, Intro., p. 17, n. 49.

[6] In the basin of the Kizilja Su, an inland stream that empties into the lake Ak Geul, at the foot of the Ibrîz Dagh. See p. 64 and Pl. XI.



(i) Noticeable features are the partial aquiline nose, long robe and square shield.



(ii) The full beard usually indicates Syrians, in particular Amorites, but in one case Dardanians are so represented, and the facial type in this case closely resembles that of Plate II. (ii). The shield, however, is square.

ALLIED CHARIOTEERS AT THE BATTLE OF KADESH.

Temple of Ramses II. at Abydos.

of importance in Hittite times; its name is one of those few that survived almost unchanged,[1] and during the last century of Ḫattic rule it was included within the southern state of *Arzawa*.[2] This kingdom appears originally to have included Cilicia Tracheia, with extensions east and west to the neighbouring coastlands of Cilicia and Pamphylia;[3] and though frequently in arms and once at least dismembered, it extended clearly at one stage within the Ḫattic period as far as Lycia. The inclusion of Tyana within its frontiers indicates a similar though later expansion north of Taurus. These enlargements in the territory of Arzawa, it is true, preceded the first appearance of the Muski, but they are an indication of the vitality, organisation, and physical horizon of the southern state, which may have revived and replaced the Ḫattic power at this time with Tyana or some neighbouring city as chief centre. This theory if based on general considerations only would not have much weight, but Assyrian records tell of a powerful tribe or people named by them Khilakku whose geographical position seems to correspond with this inland area around Tyana, in which the new style of Hittite monuments appeared. Greek literature also has preserved a tradition of a great Cilician empire,[4] which was said to have embraced within its sway most of the districts of Asia Minor and of Syria that formerly acknowledged the rule or suzerainty of the Ḫattic kings.

These possibilities are too vaguely outlined to enable us to reconstruct the geographical stages by which the Ḫattic dynasty fell, and the other states grew to temporary power. This instructive problem awaits further light. There is, however, one aspect in the general outline of events that is significant. After the temporary withdrawal of Assyria and the cessation of Muskian inroads, from about the middle of the eleventh century B.C. for something like two hundred years, there occurred two well-defined local revivals of Hittite arts, distinguished in style from one another and from the Ḫattic parent, but clearly related. The one is found in Northern Syria from Sinjerli to Carchemish,[1] and the other in that southern part of the plateau from Tyana to the Kara Dagh, which we have just considered. These revivals, so far as can be seen, were contemporary, and it is reasonable to inquire whether they were not connected in some way. The geographical link is the region of Eastern Taurus and Anti-Taurus wherein lay the time-honoured sanctuaries of Ḫatti, and where precisely the old military spirit resisted to the last.[2] Whether this area produced a political bond at that time, apart from the visible formation of leagues in moments of emergency, it is not possible to say in the absence of documentary evidence.[3] The situation is none the less suggestive, and may explain the noticeable parallelism of these revivals.

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[1] *Tu.wa.nu.wa.* Cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 47.

[2] *Temp.* Ḫattusil III. Cf. 6 *K.Bo.* 28, l. 9.

[3] Cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 7. For the argument see *Liv. A.A.*, 1923, pp. 21 ff., but not agreeing in detail with Forrer, *Forschungen: Die Arzaova-Länder*, pp. 146 ff.

[4] Solinus quoting Hecataeus of Miletus (*Polyhistor.*, ed. Mommsen, p. 129).

The advance of Assyria was resumed from about 850 B.C. onwards, and though interrupted early in the next century by the descents of the vigorous Urarti (successors to Ḫarri in the territory of Armenian Ararat) it gradually absorbed all Northern Syria and the Taurus region, so that before the close of the eighth century Assyrian troops had passed through Cilicia northwards to Tyana, where, as we have seen, they came into conflict with Mita of Muski. Though dates cannot be assigned to the sequence of events upon the plateau, it is obvious from the presence of inscriptions in Phrygian characters both at Tyana itself and to the north of the fallen capital of Ḫatti,[4] that all semblance of Hittite supremacy was now at an end. Indeed the outline of events now visible on the horizon of Greek history suggests that the final settlement of the Phrygians, who now dominated at any rate the west of the plateau, was probably complete by 850 B.C.

We have lingered somewhat over the fall of Ḫatti in the hope of elucidating some inherent tendencies in the political organisation of the land. Resuming now our preliminary inquiry, we pass more rapidly in review the various subsequent phases in the history of Asia Minor, dwelling now and again upon details which may help to illustrate some aspect of our subject. In this survey the Phrygians claim first place. Though the Phrygian immigration is just beyond historical vision, the leading features of the movement can be inferred from Greek literature, and a certain amount of information can be gathered from their monuments.[1] Their first-comers had reached the Sangarius before the fall of Troy: but their chief migration may be judged, from certain facts which Professor Ramsay has pointed out, to have taken place about the beginning of the ninth century B.C. They came in irresistible bands of mail-clad warriors from Macedonia and Thrace, crossing into Asia Minor by the Hellespont, and eventually established themselves on the sources of the Sangarius.[2] Defended by their armour, they carried all before them, so that they appeared in Greek tradition as a race of heroes, whose kings were the associates of the gods and whose language was not only the most ancient but the speech of the goddess herself.[3] Their country was the land of great fortified cities.[4] But the horizon of Homer was bounded by the Halys River; and in this popular acclaim it is clear that the Phrygians received credit for works and inherited the prestige of the Ḫattians, whose realm they now possessed. Their kingdom without doubt held chief sway over central Asia Minor during the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. In the West, indeed, it was only at the end of that period challenged by the independence and growing strength of Lydia, and on the other hand it must have embraced, as we have shown, the regions both of Ḫattusas[5] and of Tyana, where it touched the Assyrian frontier in the age of Sargon. The 'Midas City,' the presumed centre of their art and organisation, remains as yet unexplored,[1] but on the whole we fail to find evidence of any wide range of Phrygian works, of walled cities or of vast monuments, that could entitle the Phrygians to the whole credit of these memories.

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[1] Below, pp. 297 ff. Cf. Hogarth, *K.H.*, p. 60 f. Also Pottier, *L'Art Hittite*, pp. 99 ff.

[2] It will not be overlooked that this area was possibly the original centre of Hittite military power. See what is said above, p. 2.

[3] The archaeology of these areas is described in chs. vi. (*d*)–ix.

[4] Pl. IV. The inscription from Tyana is described by Myres in *Liv. A.A.*, i. p. 13; and those from Eyuk in Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i. p. 383. Cf. also Ramsay, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, xv. p. 123.

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[1] See especially Ramsay, 'A Study of Phrygian Art,' in the *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, ix., 1887-8, pp. 350-2, and an earlier article in vol. iii. pp. 1-32; and Maspero, *The Passing of Empires*, pp. 328-35.

[2] Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, iii. 187, xvi. 719.

[3] Homer, *Hymn. Aphr.*, 111 and ff.

[4] Φρυγίης εὐτειχήτοιο, *ibid.*, 116.

[5] In addition to the Phrygian inscriptions at Eyuk, cited above, the story of Daskylos, the fugitive Lydian prince (720 B.C.), indicates close political relations between the two sides of the Halys at this time; for when fearful of remaining in Phrygia at the accession of Myrsos to the Lydian throne, for greater security he crossed the Halys and took refuge with the 'White Syrians.' Cf. Nicholas of Damascus, *Fragm. Hist. Grec.* (ed. Müller-Didot), No. 49. On the relationship with Pteria and the Chalybes see also Radet, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, pp. 63, 111.

None the less, some Phrygian monuments, like the 'tomb of Midas' near Doghanlu, are peculiar and impressive. So, too, are others further south, of which we reproduce some illustrations,[2] because of the added interest of the influence of Hittite art and technique which can be traced in them. The 'lion tomb,' near Dimerli, illustrates a motive dominant in their decorative reliefs, reflected in the later sepulchres of Ayazin. Here guarding as it were the entrance to the tomb are seen two lions, arranged facing one another on either side of the door. In the tomb of Dimerli the lions are rampant, and a column or altar is seen between them.[3] The symbolism of this design may be purely Phrygian, but the decorative conception of the twin guardian lions is too freely found in Hittite art [4] for us to doubt that it had been borrowed from the older population. So, also, in the technique of the reliefs, as well as in detail of treatment, as, for instance, in the outline of the shoulder muscles of the fallen lion,[5] there is abundant indication to us now of an influence not visible to the historians of antiquity.

Though the monuments and legends together help us to reconstruct the outline of Phrygian history, there are very few authenticated data with which to fill in the details. There is no long list of royal names, for the rulers seem to have been called most commonly Midas or Gordius; and a few other names preserved in Greek tradition are merely legendary. It is not until the age of Sargon, at the close of the eighth century B.C., that a few facts come to light among the Assyrian archives. Then it would appear that the Phrygian sphere of influence had penetrated into south-eastern Cappadocia and was expanding, until chal-

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[1] The best general survey of the site is still that of Ramsay, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, *loc. cit.*

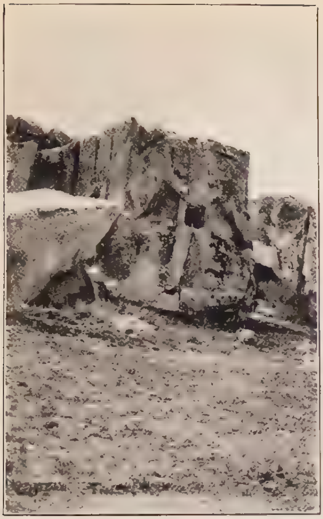
[2] Pls. IV. and XIII.

[3] Compare the Lion Gate at Mycenae near which in excavation a seemingly Hittite object has been found. Wace in the *Annual of B.S.A.*, XXV. pp. 9 ff.; also *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, Pl. I. p. 166 n.

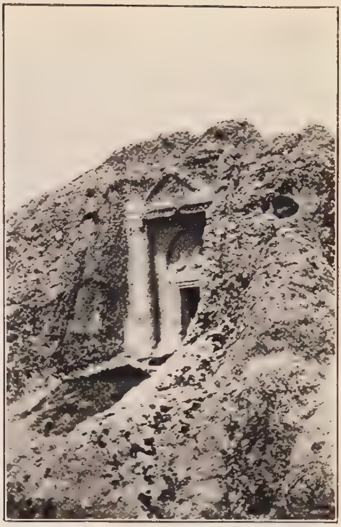
[4] Cf. Pls. XVIII., XLII., XLIX.

[5] Cf. Pl. XIII.

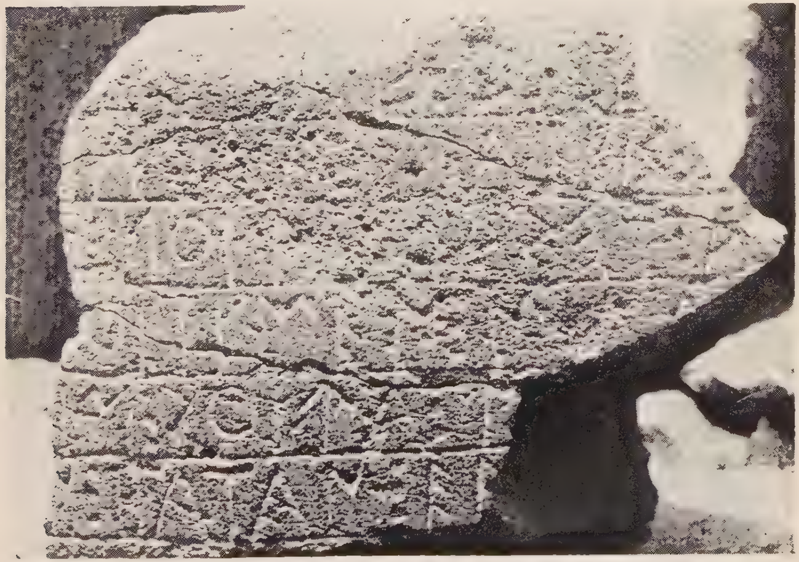
To face p. 16. PLATE IV



DIMERLI: THE LION TOMB.



AYAZIN: TOMB WITH LIONS.



TYANA: PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTION OF MIDAS.

PHRYGIAN MONUMENTS.

See p. 14.

lenged by the Assyrian forces in a series of campaigns beginning in 718 B.C. But Midas the Phrygian was not easily restrained, and in the next year he prevailed on Pisiris of Carchemish to revolt against the Assyrian supremacy, while several minor states of Cappadocia, from the Taurus region called Tabal, also joined the league. The rebels were promptly punished, and one of these expeditions sent against them penetrated, it would seem, to Tyana,[1] at this time an important centre for the Phrygians in the conduct of their wars. In 709, however, following a further expedition sent against Midas from Cilicia, the Phrygians capitulated, sending ambassadors and tribute. The reason for this sudden change of front is also made apparent. About the middle of the eighth century B.C. there had appeared the first wave of an overwhelming movement of peoples from southern Europe,[2] including seemingly both Cimmerians and Scythians, coming by way of the Caucasus, spreading terror and devastation as it passed. The Vannic power of Urartu in southern Armenia about 720 B.C. received the first onslaught, and then the frontiers of Sargon, who had to call up all the resources of his armies to protect his kingdom. Recoiling, the tide set westward through Asia Minor, meeting about 710 another similar stream [3] that had crossed the Bosphorus; and the united barbarians for half a century established a reign of terror in the north of Asia Minor. The details of the Phrygian downfall are wanting; but about 675 the royal Midas (presumably the grandson of *Mita* who had begged Assyria through his ambassadors for help), defeated on every hand, committed suicide. The Cimmerians overran his country, and the kingdom of Phrygia thereafter ceased to be. We do not follow the movements of these hordes further; for they have left no trace upon the Hittite lands which they overran, although it was not until the close of the seventh century that they disappeared. Their inroads, however, are probably responsible for the final disappearance of nearly all trace of the Hittites in Greek history.[1]

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[1] If the *Tuna* of the Assyrians be really *Tyana*, there is clear evidence of Phrygian supremacy there in 714, in the fact that Matti of Tuna disclaimed his allegiance to Assyria and turned to Midas. If, however, Tuna is to be located somewhat further east (cf. the *Tynna* of Ptolemy v, 6, 22, and Maspero, *The Passing of Empires*, p. 239, n. 2), or south-east at Faustinopolis (Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 68), then the inference is equally clear that the Phrygian sphere reached at least to Tyana, if not beyond. This evidence is supplementary to that of the inscription already mentioned (pp. 11, 14, and Pl. IV.).

[2] Herodotus, iv. 11, 12. We follow the story as worked out by Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 345. See also Rostoftzeff: *Iranians and Greeks in Southern Russia*, chaps. i. and ii.

[3] Strabo, XIV. i. 40.

The State of Lydia, in the West, that fought the final struggle for civilisation against these foes, next claims our notice from the way in which certain of its customs and institutions reflect the influence of Hittite organisation, from which, indeed, they may have been inherited.[2] By contrast with Phrygia, the leading elements of the Lydian social fabric seem to have been nurtured on the soil. Tradition speaks of a dynasty of Heracleidae who ruled from the twelfth century for five hundred years,[3] and whose ancestor, Agron,[4] was descended from Heracles himself. Even before that date there is memory of a royal family of Atyadae, whose rule must have passed back to the days of direct Hittite domination that saw the carving of the warrior-gods of Kara-bel and, may be, the Mother-goddess of Sipylus.[5] The Hittite archives now substantiate this tradition,[6] and an Atyades (son of Attis) seems to emerge as a historical character, a vassal-ally of the Ḫattic kings.

However that may be, we see the Lydians already an organised state, even while the Phrygian power was still at its height, before the Cimmerian storm had burst. As with the Hittites in past time, their constitution was partly that of confederate or vassal states governed by hereditary chiefs owning allegiance to the ruling power at Sardis, and partly feudal,[1] the chieftains owing their military service and their tribal forces to the king, while the common people appear as serfs. In this society the king was both head of the priesthood and commander of the vassal chiefs in war.[2] The emblem of sovereignty was a double axe, which the Greeks said was derived from Heracles himself,[3] who, according to Plutarch,[4] had wrested this sacred weapon from the Amazon Queen Hippolyte. Through Omphale it was handed down the succession of Lydian kings, to Candaules (last of the Heracleidae)[5] who was slain in combat with the Carian Arselis. The emblem was then carried off, the narrative relates, by the Carians, who put up a statue to Zeus of the Double Axe (Labrandeus) at MYLASA, at which the axe was dedicated. When we recall the familiar identity of the chief Hittite deity with Zeus, and of the youthful deity with Heracles, this story assumes a new and instructive character. Doubtless the mass of legend which the early Greek historians collected and preserved will reward re-examination to-day with a glimpse of historical foundations which the progress of research may ultimately elucidate.

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[1] If we exclude the vague but suggestive reference to Κήτειοι in the *Odyssey*, xi. 521. See also the indications in Hipponax, below, p. 178.

[2] Cf. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 336; also Sayce, *Empires of the East*, i. p. 427.

[3] Herodotus, i. 7. On the way in which the date is derived, see Schubert, *Gesch. der Könige von Lydien*, p. 8.

[4] For the character of the early names and their relation to the Hittite, see Sayce, *loc. cit.*; also Hall on *Mursil and Myrtillos*, *J.H.S.*, xxix. (1909), pp. 19-22; and on the same point, Winckler in the *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, Dec. 1906.

[5] See below, p. 174.

[6] The Hittite archives tell of the exploits of a prince Wadduwattas (alternatively read Madduwattas) in the West, who at one time was engaged as a vassal-leader apparently in Caria; and at another he is found in revolt against the Ḫattic king. The full text is now published by Götze in the *Mitt. d. Vorderas.-Aegypt. Ges.*, 1927, i. pp. 1-39 with commentaries. The name, eliminating the digamma as in Greek, simulates Adyattes; cf. Alyattes, a typical 'Atyad' name of the Lydian dynasty.

One point at any rate is established, that not merely was the district of Lydia at one time embraced within the Hittite empire,[6] but that it became imbued then with many features of social organisation which it carried down from the old world to the new. We do not dwell upon the stories of the Lydian kings, of their desperate struggles with the Cimmerians following the downfall of Phrygia, nor of their warfare with the Medes, with whom, after the fall of Nineveh in 607 B.C., they ultimately divided Asia Minor, the Halys being the boundary between them. But the names of two kings are worthy of mention as historical landmarks; the one is Gyges, first of the Mermnad dynasty in the middle of the seventh century B.C., contemporary of Assurbanipal, the Assyrian, and of Psamtek, Pharaoh of Egypt, with both of whom he held relations of diplomatic character. The other is Croesus, the last and most renowned, who, having established his power eastward to the Halys, turned his attention to those rich Greek cities which had sprung up in the West.

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[1] Gelzer, *Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, Rheins. Mus., vol. XXXV. (1880) pp. 520-4; cf. Radet, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, etc., pp. 90, 91.

[2] Cf. the position of the Ḫattic kings, and of the kings of Comana, Pontus, and other city states (Strabo, XII. iii. 32). On this subject see also Ramsay, in *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. pp. 78 ff., on 'The Pre-Hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia.'

[3] For the double axe in Hittite symbolism, see Pls. XXIV., XLIV.; and for the relation of the God-of-the-double-axe to Heracles, see p. 180; on the Amazons, p. 86.

[4] *Aitia Graeca*, 45.

[5] Son of *Myrsos*, and called by the Greeks *Myrsilos* (Herod., i. 7).

[6] On this question, and on the whole subject of Hittite influence surviving in the civilisations of the western coast, see the brilliant survey by the late Mr. D. G. Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, especially pp. 74 ff. and 101-2.

These colonies, founded in selected spots along the coast several centuries before, had indeed in many cases already passed their zenith. Cities like Smyrna, Ephesus, and Colophon were apparently in their prime before the fall of Phrygia and the rise of Lydia. How old they were in their origin is not yet determined, but they had received, and retained in historic times, the impress of the Hittite civilisation.[1] We have already shown reason to believe that these western parts of Asia Minor were brought at times into close relation with the Ḫattic kings, a conclusion to which the Hittite sculptures on Mount SIPYLUS and the Pass of Kara-Bel add the weight of material evidence.[2] Now these fair cities of IONIA fell one by one to Croesus, who seemed likely to establish an empire even over the islands, when suddenly Cyrus the Persian appeared from the East, reuniting all the sundered parts of the old empires of Assyria and of Babylon as he passed. Croesus marched out immediately to resist the menace, and as a preliminary step crossed the Halys and 'ravaged the lands of the "Syrians," and took the city of the Pterians and enslaved the inhabitants. He also took all the adjacent places and expelled the population, who had given him no cause for blame.'[3] Possibly we may see in these acts, which appeared wanton to the historian, an effort on the part of Croesus to delay or prevent the passing of the Persian army, which would naturally follow the old road by PTERIA in preference to the southern route which was not then developed. However that may be, the effort was vain: about 546 B.C. the Lydian capital and its king fell into the hands of Cyrus.

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[1] Hogarth, pp. 101-2. See below, p. 168 f.

[2] See also below, pp. 172 ff., and Pl. XXXVI. and fig. 12.

[3] Herodotus, i. 76.

The former Hittite realms were now reunited under Persian rule, and continued to share in the common history of the empire of the Great King for more than two hundred years. For the purpose of administration Asia Minor was divided into provinces, governed by Satraps, of which in general terms the old kingdom of Lydia formed one, Phrygia with Lycaonia a second, Greater Cilicia a third, while the basin of the Halys with the neighbouring parts of Pontus and Armenia Minor were grouped together, an instructive illustration of the permanency of the natural divisions of the land.[1] But the hold of the Great King ruling in Susa over his distant provinces was weak, and the spirit of Persian civilisation failed to permeate these historic lands. Few monuments remain to tell us of this phase, during which the old local institutions were maintained and even developed unrestrained. The Greek cities of the coast retained their Greek character under Greek governors; while the tribes of the interior restored the rule of their local princes or priest-dynasts amid a condition of security and freedom which they had not known for many generations. In Oriental fashion, all that the central power demanded was tribute and tranquillity. Local feuds between the Satraps might smoulder, and the symptoms of rebellion here and there remain almost unheeded, so long as these conditions were fulfilled. Under these circumstances the western people gradually recovered the spirit of independence, while from across the sea the Greek states even aspired to empire. The march of the Ten Thousand in 402, under Cyrus the younger, made famous by Xenophon in his *Anabasis*, showed how lax was the organisation and how weak the control of the central government. Incidentally it also opened up the southern route by the Maeander, Ilgîn and Iconium to the Cilician gates, in preference to the longer royal road by way of Boghaz-Keui, by which hitherto the posts from Susa had travelled west to Sardis.

In 334 B.C. Alexander the Great crossed the Hellespont, and within a year, by his energy and ability to use the new army-machine which he had inherited, conquered western Asia Minor as far as the Halys, and passed on leaving it his own. This date marks an issue more changeful to Asia Minor than the conquest of Cyrus. For though no monuments throw light on the story of the next two centuries, the system of government was now initiated which in due time was to result in the Hellenising of the interior. Cities were founded with Greek names, and the Greek speech gradually made its way, through Greek-speaking princes and governors, as the official language. The change worked very slowly, but it was profound in the issue, as we shall see. At first the states maintained their old customs and native dialects without appreciable difference, but in the course of two or three centuries Greek language and Greek culture and to some extent even Greek thought and religious ideas, had permeated widely among the upper-class natives of the interior.

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[1] See below, ch. iii.

The struggles of Alexander's successors, who had inherited from him the empire, are matters of common history. The Seleucids reunited, though in futile manner, the formerly Hittite regions in the north of Syria and Cilicia, and for a time gained some ascendancy in Asia Minor, until defeated in 191 B.C. and driven back beyond the Taurus, where for another century they retained a sphere of influence. But of greater interest to us is the survival of local power in Cappadocia, under the dynasty of Ariarathes, which had come to the fore in the last century of Persian domination. This state, at first with incessant warfare, and then by means of tribute to the Seleucids, maintained in effect a form of local independence which survived even down to the Roman occupation and beyond. The relations of Cappadocia with Pontus,[1] and the oscillation of their mutual frontier, are instructive details. Another state that retained its freedom and local princes throughout this time was Bithynia, on the north-western coast.

The Romans dallied long in following up the defeat of the Seleucids at Magnesia, when the way lay open to the annexation of Asia Minor, for which its people, torn by their internal wars, would have been even grateful. But it was not until late in the second century B.C. that the West was united as a Roman province. Even then the East remained under the direct government of the local princes, to whom the Roman Senate entrusted their frontier. At the beginning of the first century B.C. the disaffection of Mithridates, King of Pontus, and his efforts to win for himself a kingdom

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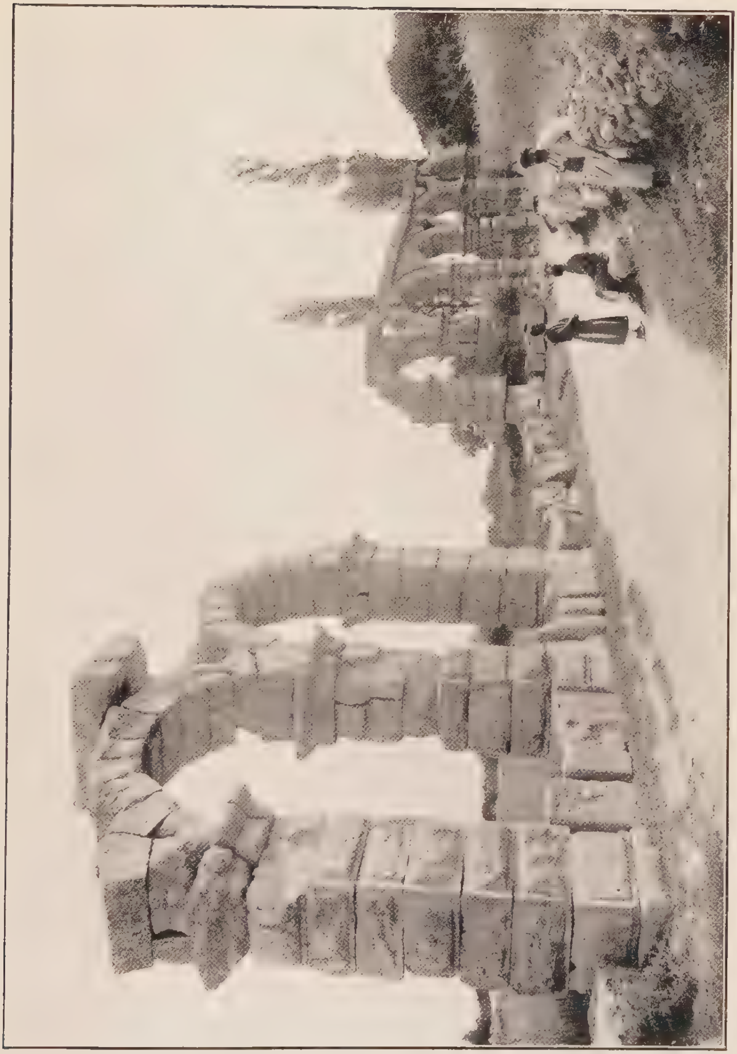
[1] Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 315.

To face p. 22.

PLATE V



RUINED ROMAN AQUEDUCTS NEAR TYANA.

See p. 23.

in Cappadocia and Bithynia, disclosed the last fitful traces of the old conditions. The Cilician pirates, who from their bases under the southern slopes of Taurus had become a leading naval power, were also suppressed; and during the following century the whole country as far as the Euphrates was gradually brought under direct control, and the provincial system was established. The province of CILICIA had been founded in 64 B.C., and after various successive modifications, during which the western district, CILICIA TRACHEIA, continued to be ruled by the priest-dynasts of Olba, the whole was united with LYCAONIA under a consular legate about A.D. 137. BITHYNIA-PONTUS, the scene of the late rebellions, came into the power of Rome by the will of its last king in 74 B.C., and the double province was placed under the administration of a praetorian proconsul in 27 B.C. GALATIA was constituted in 25 B.C., and PONTUS was added to it in A.D. 63. Finally, the occupation of CAPPADOCIA, dating from A.D. 17, completed the division of the administrative districts; for the sixth province ASIA, in the West, had been the earliest founded, as we have noted, in 133 B.C.

The system of Roman organisation, while perpetuating the old tribal divisions, broke up at length the powers of the native chieftains. For some time many old-world institutions were maintained, notably the priest-dynasts of Comana, Olba, and Venasa; but gradually the native communal temple-district organisation of society gave way, to be replaced by the Greek political system, the seeds of which had been planted two or three centuries before and had now taken root. In this system, as in the beginning, the city became once more the administrative centre, and the villages around were its branches.[1] We cannot dwell upon the history of these times, but we reproduce some illustrations of Roman works such as are met with in plenty throughout the length and breadth of the land. Great aqueducts like those of Tyana,[2] and those which stretch for miles across the Cilician plain, are an indication of the vast scheme of development that was instituted under the new well-ordered system of government. Great cities both in Syria and in Asia Minor were the product of these times. Many of these were the foundations of places that still remain centres of administration; while some have lost their importance, and are falling gradually to ruin.

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[1] On this subject see Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* (London, 1909), pp. 120, 123. It is instructive to compare the organisation by temple districts disclosed in certain Cappadocian tablets preserved in the British Museum (King, *Hittite Texts*, n. 12 ff.), and p. 219 f.

[2] Pl. v.

The very prosperity of the country during the Roman occupation was one cause of its danger, presenting it as an alluring prize to the forces gradually arising along its frontiers. The extreme centralisation of the Byzantine system weakened, if it did not altogether exterminate, the power of local resistance and administration. So long as the central government remained powerful all was well, but the danger of the system was manifested by the ease with which the Arab forces in 668 passed through the land from end to end, pausing only before the walls of Constantinople. The hold of the Saracen power, however, was not firm, and the Roman system was possessed of latent vitality which in the end was equal to the emergency, so that in a series of campaigns extending from 920 to 965, the Saracens were driven back from point to point, until first Tarsus[1] was recovered and then Antioch, which had for more than three hundred years been in their possession.

The Seljuk Turks, who next appeared on the scene, were a more formidable foe. Having at one time been the servants of the Arab sultans, they had now become the masters, and in 1067 they entered Asia Minor, conquering Cilicia and Cappadocia. Four years later the Emperor Romanus Diogenes himself was their prisoner, and by 1081 the whole centre and east of the tableland was recognised as their realm. Adopting a policy of depopulation and devastation, in which the whole of Phrygia was laid waste, the Turks rapidly set up an almost impassable frontier between themselves and the Byzantine power which still held sway in the West. Notwithstanding spasmodic efforts of the old rulers to regain their dominion, the country gradually relapsed into Orientalism, and with the rise of the Osmanli Turks from 1289 the Empire of the West rapidly disintegrated. Under the Seljuk rule, a new aspect of decorative art and architecture appeared in Asia Minor, a

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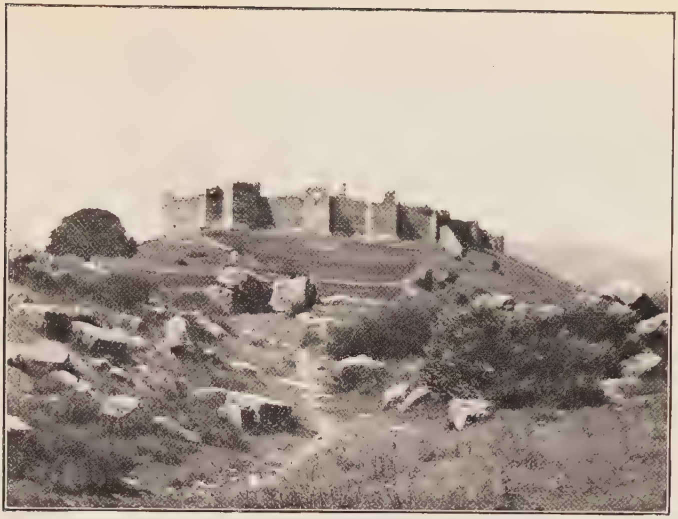
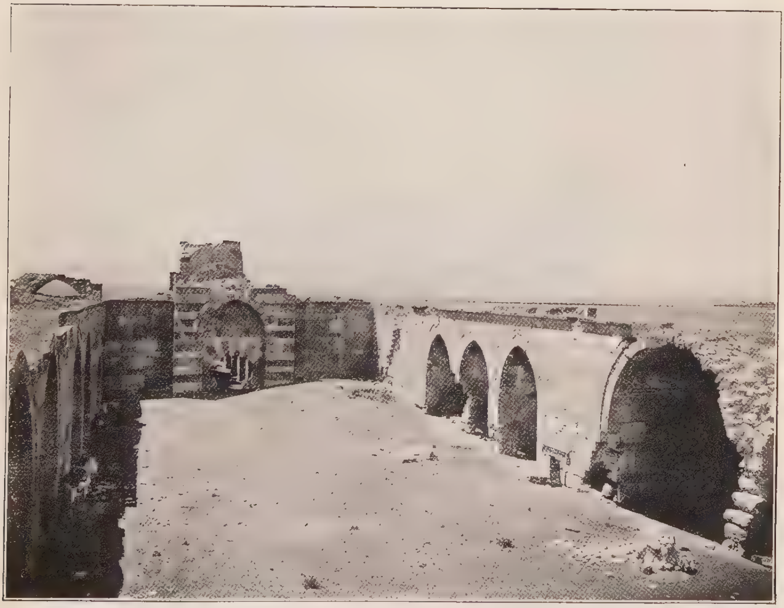
[1] For photographs of Tarsus, see Pl. XXXVII., and also Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, Part ii., with Pls. II.-V.



EPHESUS: MEDIÆVAL FORTRESS WITH SELJUK REMAINS AT AYASOLÛK.



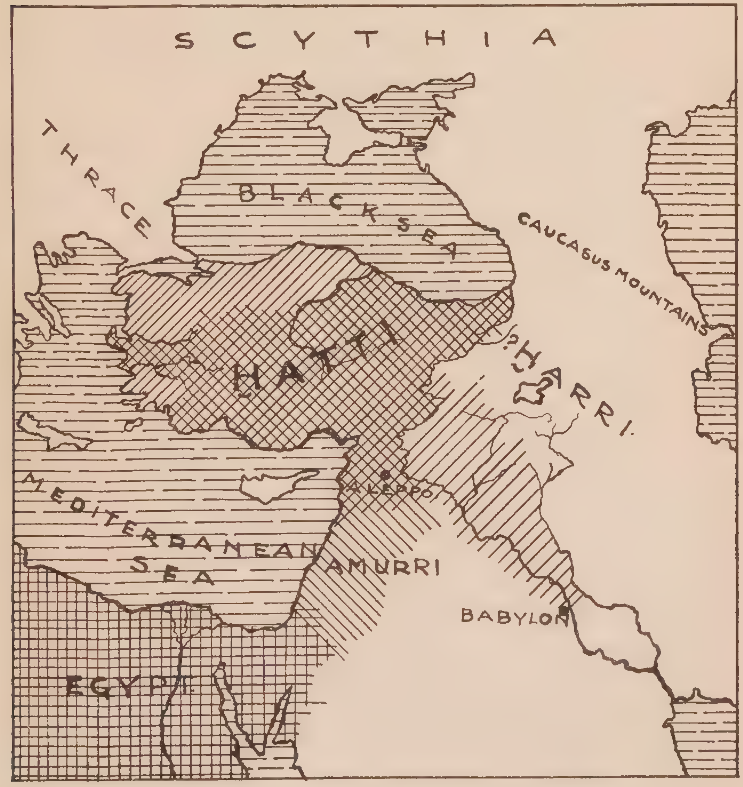
KONIA: ZAZADÎN HAN, OF SELJUK WORK AND STYLE.

SELJUK MONUMENTS.

See p. 25.

period much neglected, yet, as Professor Ramsay has pointed out, most worthy of special study. Some of their monuments are shown in our illustrations.

With the enthronement of the Seljuks the old world faded rapidly from view. Previously we had seen old institutions surviving under a new system; but now a new language and new forms of government, with new administrative districts, were imposed by the conquerors; while the devastation of the earlier stages of the conquest, followed by the repeated incursions of nomad peoples, profoundly modified the racial stock of the population. With these changes the story of Asia Minor becomes that of the modern Turkey-in Asia.


SCYTHIA
THRACE
BLACK SEA
CAUCASUS MOUNTAINS
HATTI
?HARRI.
ALEPPO
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AMURRI
BABYLON
EGYPT

The King of Ḫatti captures Aleppo and Babylon, c. 1926 B.C.

CHAPTER II

THE HITTITE WORLD

Two main areas. The mountain or Indo-European zone: physical features; main watersheds: historical interest. Erzerum a geographical centre: Caucasia and Iran. The plains or Semitic zone: the Tigris, Elam and Assyria; the Euphrates, Babylonia and Mesopotamia; Syria. Communications between Anatolia and the plains. Race and Language. The Sea-ways: Europe the danger.

It has been noticed in the preceding chapter that while the central Ḫattic area lay towards the east of Asia Minor, Hittite imperial relations extend the purview of our inquiry to include the remoter parts of the peninsula towards the West, and the whole of Syria, eastwards to the Euphrates and southwards to the frontiers of Palestine.[1] We regard, then, the Hittite Empire as comprising both Syria and Asia Minor; while the Hittite world, the subject of this chapter, includes also the historic neighbourlands around these areas that may have influenced their destinies.

Asia Minor forms a natural land-link between the continent of Asia, of which it is the most westerly extension, and south-eastern Europe, with which it communicates almost directly at the narrow crossings of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont.[2] Being also a peninsula it exposes some two thousand miles of coast to the seas that bound it on three sides, namely the Black Sea, the Aegean and the Mediterranean. Towards the East it is connected with the highlands of Armenia, the whole forming in fact the mountain-mass of Anatolia, which finds its culmination and eastern horizon in the peak and watersheds of Ararat. Syria also presents a continuous seaboard to the Mediterranean, communicating in that way and also by the desert routes of northern Sinai with Egypt in north-east Africa. The main connections of Syria, however, lie north-eastward, where it is in immediate contact with the middle Euphrates valley and northern Mesopotamia. There is then between our two main areas a marked contrast which extends also to their neighbours. Asia Minor is mostly highland and temperate, belonging to a mountain zone; while Syria includes wide regions of hot plains of which it forms the western boundary. The two are moreover separated from one another by the mountain chain of Taurus. The Empire of the Hittites at its full extension thus occupied a remarkable position: not only was it a bond between the culture areas of three continents, in contact if not in actual relation with widely separated centres of early civilisation; but it comprised within itself regions in which the physical characteristics and conditions of life greatly varied. Our field of inquiry is thus seen at first glance to possess features of unusual interest, which a further examination of detail will be found to accentuate. Let us consider first the northern area with its land connections towards the East.

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[1] See p. 5, and below, ch. x. (*c*).

[2] Map facing p. 1.

The mountainous mass of Anatolia descends progressively from the watersheds of Ararat towards the West by marked stages, whereof the first comprises the Armenian highlands, the second is the plateau of Asia Minor itself, and the third is the descent of the whole system towards the West until it falls below the level of the sea. The plateau itself varies from 4000 to 3000 feet above sea level, but its fall is not continuous, nor should it be regarded as a plain. It has in general an upland though not a highland character, but owing to certain peculiarities (which will be described [1]) it varies greatly in its features. It is in its turn enclosed by ranges of high mountains, of which those on the north and south descend steeply in places to the water's edge, like great revetments to the central mass which they support. The western mountains are less bold and more broken, and their fall towards the sea is easier. They place none the less a considerable obstacle between the plateau and the green valleys of the Aegean coast.[2]

The ranges that bound the plateau on the North are a part of the chain that, but for occasional breaks, borders the Black Sea continuously from the Bosphorus to Batum.[3] The southern boundary is the range of Taurus, which also stretches out, continuing eastward, even beyond the Euphrates, where ultimately it separates the head-waters of the Euphrates from those of the Tigris. The northern and southern boundaries of the plateau of Asia Minor are thus continuous with those of Armenia; but whereas in the latter area these ranges approach within 150 miles of one another, being separated only by two intermediate ranges that lie generally parallel with them from East to West, they widen out upon the peninsula until they are twice that distance apart. The area enclosed is not only much larger than western Armenia, but it differs in its essential physical character. For these intermediate ranges, which with Taurus bound the two main valleys of the Upper Euphrates, fail to traverse the plateau in their original westerly direction, but turn south-west, where they weld together in the broken mass of Anti-Taurus;[1] and this in its turn merges with that of Taurus. The pinnacle of ARGAEUS (Erjias Dagh, 13,000 feet) marks the most westerly outlier of this confused mountain group.

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[1] Cf. ch. iii.

[2] Cf. Ramsay, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, xv. p. 100.

[3] At the mouth of the Chorokh Su, Boas Fl.

The abrupt southerly deflection of the Armenian ranges heads off the upper streams of the Euphrates from their westerly course, so that they too turn south, and, uniting, break through Taurus in a swift and tortuous descent towards the Syrian plains. This great bend places a barrier and landmark between Eastern and Western Anatolia and emphasises their distinction, notwithstanding their common substratum and common boundaries to the North and South.

The highlands of Armenia Minor, on the west banks of the Euphrates, and the broken region of the Anti-Taurus, form together the eastern boundary of the central plateau; and though the valley of the Tochma Su between them offers a ready passage to the Euphrates near Malatia, central Asia Minor has in consequence tended towards an independent racial and social development. Each area claims in fact its peculiar physical relations and features. Those of Armenia have none the less been a potential factor in the history of the western plateau. For the valleys of Armenia lie east and west, and, though shut in and landlocked, they have throughout history given passage to armies and migrations moving along that line. The geography of Armenia therefore interests our subject in two ways, most nearly in that it was probably peopled by a kindred but

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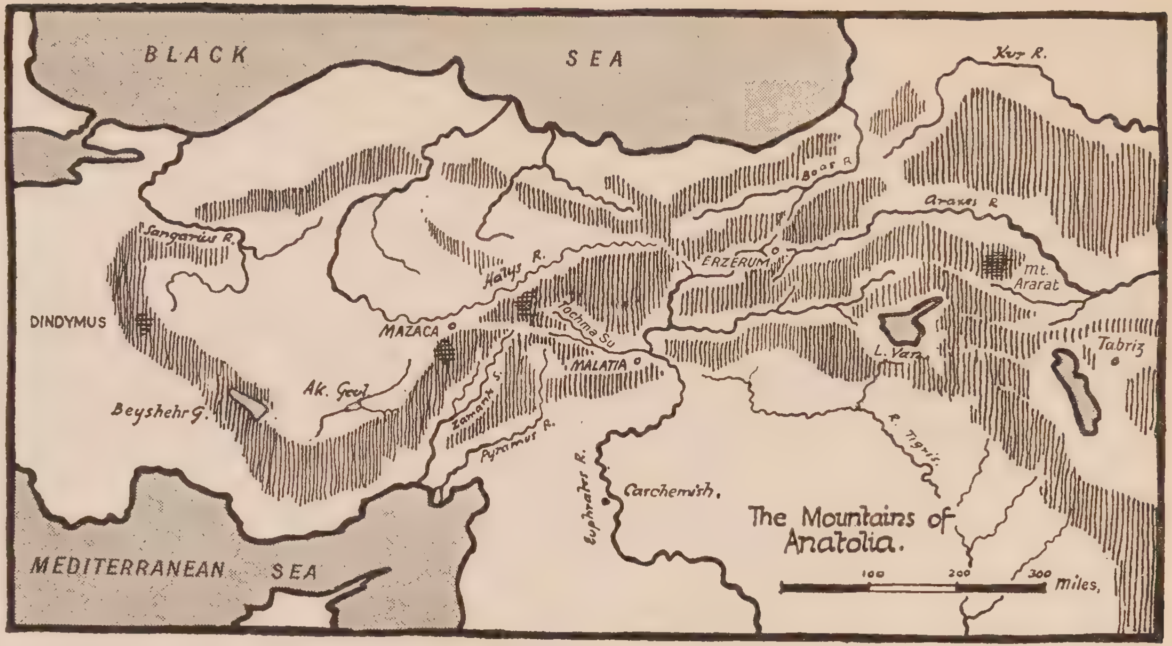
[1] See the diagrammatic map, p. 29.


BLACK SEA
Kur R.
Boas R
Araxes R
Sangarius R.
Halys R.
ERZERUM
Mt. Ararat
DINDYMUS
MAZACA
Tochma Su
MALATIA
L. Van
Tabriz
Ak. Geul
Beyshehr G.
Zamanti S.
Pyramus R.
R. Tigris
Euphrates R.
Carchemish.
The Mountains of Anatolia.
100
200
300
miles,
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

The Mountain and River Systems of Anatolia.

rival stock, the Ḫarrians[1] with whom the Hittites were in constant political relationship, but more profoundly because its valleys and passes formed a link with the historic areas of the Caucasus, the Median highlands, and the Iranian plateau. The curious configuration of the Armenian watersheds facilitated communication, notwithstanding the ruggedness of its mountains, and a few moments with the map will help the explanation.[2]

The main or western stream of the Euphrates, the Kara Su, rises near Erzerum and flows westward past Erzingan till it turns southward at Zimarra. The twin source, the Murad Su, distinguished in name as the Eastern Euphrates, flows from the north side of Lake Van parallel with the other past Palu, and joins the main stream above Malatia. In its valley, though not upon the river itself, lie Mush and Kharput, while its basin is the most fertile tract of all Armenia. Both valleys provide important route-links between East and West. Now the watershed wherein rise these and numerous minor tributaries of the Euphrates, trends from Erzerum at first southwards to the high peak of Bingeul Dagh,[3] thence eastward and northwards again in a broken curve,[4] before bending finally south-eastwards between Ararat and Lake Van. On the other side of this irregular divide there rise numerous tributaries of the Aras or ARAXES, which also has its principal sources around Erzerum, but flows eastward until, between Erivan and Mount Ararat, it bends south-east before turning finally towards the Caspian Sea. The Araxes thus for the most part rises in the loop between the furthest sources of the Euphrates; indeed the headwaters of these rivers interlace, and they approach one another closely at numerous points. Their valleys connect readily by passes through the intervening heights, passes which though high and in winter often blocked with snow are in places surprisingly easy in grade. Erzerum itself, though at a height of 6000 feet, lies in one such saddle, between the main valleys of the East and West.

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[1] *ḪARRI* was in close contact with *GASGA*, *KIZZUWADNA*, and *MITANNI*. We regard it generally as corresponding to Armenia, east of the Euphrates, with political contacts, reflected in the Hittite documents, on the North, West, and South (cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 18).

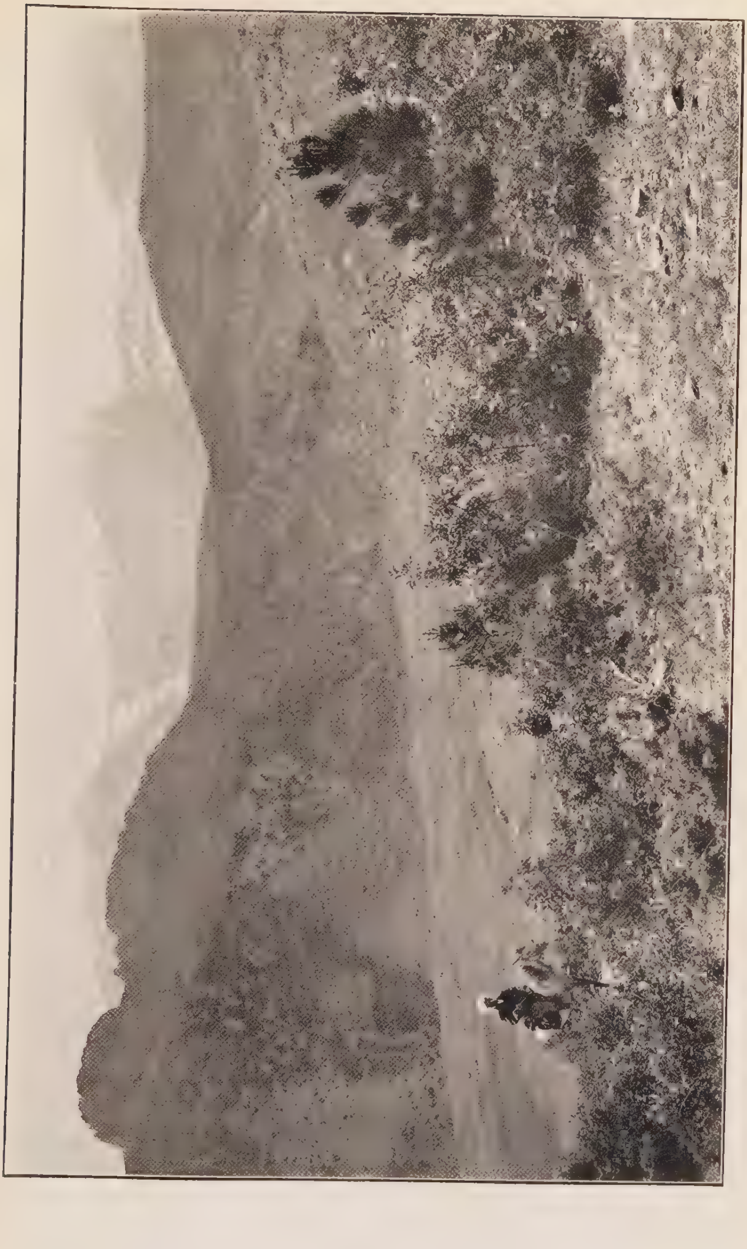
[2] A more detailed map faces p. 1.

[3] ABUS MONS.

[4] Roughly S-shaped, thus ∽.

To face p. 30.

PLATE VII



THE BULGHAR DAGH, A MAIN RANGE OF THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS

Another chief opening is that which descends upon Bayazid[1] at the south-western foot of Ararat. Others, like that between Mush and Bitlis, connect with the shores of Lake Van,[2] whence communication with Tabriz and the South-east is much simplified by the valley systems of the lakes themselves and the tributaries of the Araxes.

These valleys and passes form the great highroads between East and West. Though we have no means yet of determining their influence on the movements of peoples in early history, the part they played in later times is well established. By these doorways came the swarms of Seljuks, Mongols and Turks from Asia to the West; and the Osmanli Sultans marched eastward to the conquest of Persia. Timur in particular realised and utilised their full strategic value. By choosing his moment this truly great albeit remorseless soldier was uniquely successful in leading his forces by routes which lie north and south across the natural lines. One such leads directly from Erzerum to Mush, crossing the many streams of the Araxes and the Euphrates high up near their sources in the Bingeul Dagh. But that which Timur accomplished no other conqueror seems to have attempted. The long famous experience of the Ten Thousand, when forcing their way in retreat from Cunaxa by the main route northwards towards the Black Sea coast, vividly illustrates the dangers and difficulties of conducting troops in this transverse direction.[3] By contrast the descent from Erzerum to Erivan by the basin of the Araxes is relatively easy; and from the same centre another much-used road follows the southern slopes of the main watershed[4] which it crosses above Bayazid, whence it continues in similar fashion along the eastern slopes towards Tabriz.

This watershed between the eastern and western river systems, though traversed in this way by well-marked passes, is nevertheless by its very height and continuity a natural landmark and for the most part has formed a historic frontier. Under Alexander the Great it was indeed temporarily effaced for administrative purposes, for the boundaries of Armenia were advanced eastward towards the mouth of the Araxes.

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[1] 6500 ft.

[2] 5200 ft.

[3] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iv.-v., etc.

[4] This route is, however, much exposed, rising at its highest point to 9200 ft.

Yet, in modern times, the ranges north of Ararat were for long the natural boundary between Armenia and Russian Caucasia; while those to the South still mark the frontier of Persia, just as in the earliest scheme of organisation visible to history they separated the XIIIth Persian satrapy of Armenia from its eastern neighbour. In Hittite times, so far as can be discerned, this watershed formed the extreme eastern horizon to the political relations and military adventures of the Ḫattic kings; but the open doorways through it should ever be borne in mind.

The interest of Erzerum as a centre of communications is not confined to its links between East and West; other routes radiate from it towards the Caucasus and to the Black Sea ports. This is the result of its singular geographical situation; for just to the north in the Domlu Dagh there is to be found the culmination of the mountain and river systems of the region. There not only do the furthest sources of the Euphrates and the Araxes almost meet, being not more than two miles apart, but the same ridge divides these from the streams that flow northward to join the Boas. Here part, then, waters that flow severally to join the Black Sea, the Caspian, and the Persian Gulf; and here meet the two ridges that divide these from one another, namely the main watershed of Ararat that we have considered, and that which, though irregular, lies generally parallel to the coast of the Black Sea. The northern slopes of the latter are drained by the headwaters of the Lycus and the Boas, which it separates from the main stream of the Western Euphrates. Proceeding north-east it approaches nearer to the coast, so that the rivers flowing to the Black Sea are short and fierce, while those that flow east to the Caspian, united as the Aras and the Kur, are much longer and pursue a gentler course.

The last named river, the Kur, is the main source of fertility in Asiatic Caucasia. To the North its basin is bounded by the range of the Caucasus mountains, which stretches from sea to sea, unbroken save for one pass. From the beginning this barrier has thwarted migrations and collected the drift of peoples, so that under its shelter there are now to be found bewildering differences of race and language, paralleled only in districts similarly placed in the Himalayas. Our special interest in this area and its connections lies in the fact, still to be examined, that both the Hittite and Mitannian languages contained Caucasian elements or affinities. We cannot test as yet the historical value of these connections. Hittite political relations did not visibly extend thus far, unless indeed it be found to our surprise that modern names like Tabriz and Erivan are to be derived ultimately from Hittite sources like Teburzia and Ariwanna.[1] The earliest historical reference to COLCHIS, in the story of the Argonauts,[2] which might otherwise have shed a welcome contemporary light upon the area, gives only a brief glimpse of the coast-lands from the sea, and suggests only primitive conditions of society with a background of savagery, a picture which both Xenophon and Strabo tend to confirm at any rate as regards the neighbouring parts of Armenia and Pontus in later times.[3] Still, research has much to tell us yet about Caucasian archaeology as about the Hittite languages and peoples; so that though the connection is not explained, the door remains open. The communications by way of Erzerum are natural routes, and they connect with the heart of Caucasia by way of Erivan and Kars and Ardahan, as also with the Black Sea ports of Batum and Trebizond.[4] At the same time Erzerum[5] is linked directly with the Hittite plateau by the valleys of the Euphrates and the Halys; so that the possibility of contact and early relationship remains unquestionable.

Looking next beyond the Hittite horizon to the South-east, we find the mountain system that lies away from Ararat in that direction resolving itself into two main ranges, which enclose the Median highlands. The one skirts the southern coast of the Caspian Sea (but not so closely as to prevent free passage by the shore) and, bending eastwards, forms a chain that is linked in turn with the Himalayas, so separating

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[1] Cf. *J.E.A.*, xi. 1925, p. 26: these cities ranked among the eastern enemies of Ḫatti, 1 *K.Bo.* 2, obv. 11, 13, 20, 22.

[2] Cf. Homer, *Odyssey*, xii. 69; Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv.

[3] Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iv. 5; v. 2, 4.

[4] The importance of these lines was well illustrated during the Russian advance in the early stages of the Great War. See *The Times* maps of Jan. 21, Feb. 22, and April 20, 1926.

[5] The name of Erzerum is modern and corrupt; in classical times the site was called Carana, which simulates Ḫarana of the Hittite geographical catalogue. The mountain of Ḫarana was deified and invoked in treaties (cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 18).

India and its Aryan peoples from the rest of Asia. The other system is more broken, but it may be regarded from our standpoint as a continuation of the eastern Taurus. This, turning south-eastwards below Lake Van, in one great sweep bounds the whole of the Iranian plateau, separating Media and Persia from the lower basin of the Tigris and the Persian Gulf.

In the foothills of this latter system two districts interest us particularly. The one lay opposite the mouth of the Tigris, having contact both with the plateau and the plain, and watered chiefly by the Karkhah River. This was Elam, one of the world's earliest organised societies, which dominated Western Asia while Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia, its later conquerors, were still in infancy. The agglutinative nature of its language, certain elements in its system of government and in its religion, the wide diffusion of its early ceramic wares,[1] and the traditional extension of its conquests to the Mediterranean coast, are matters suggesting contact with the Hittite world. The royal road which, under the Persian Empire, linked Susa with the Aegean coast, along a route already well defined in Anatolia by Hittite monuments, indicates a line of communication that had been long established.

Further up the Tigris valley, but centred, as we have said, in the same foothills, was the second of these two districts, Assyria, which, with far-famed Nineveh for its capital, enters into the Hittite horizon towards the close of the Ḫattic dynasty. Its neighbours on the eastern plateau were the Manda or Hordes of Media.[2] North of it, upon the river, was Alshe, a Ḫarrian dependency ;[3] while the upper basin of the Tigris, between the Gebel Tur (MASIUS MONS) and eastern Taurus, was apparently wholly in possession of the Ḫarrians, whose seat must probably be sought in Armenia itself, possibly in the neighbourhood of Lake Van.[4] The Mesopotamian plain was peopled by a different

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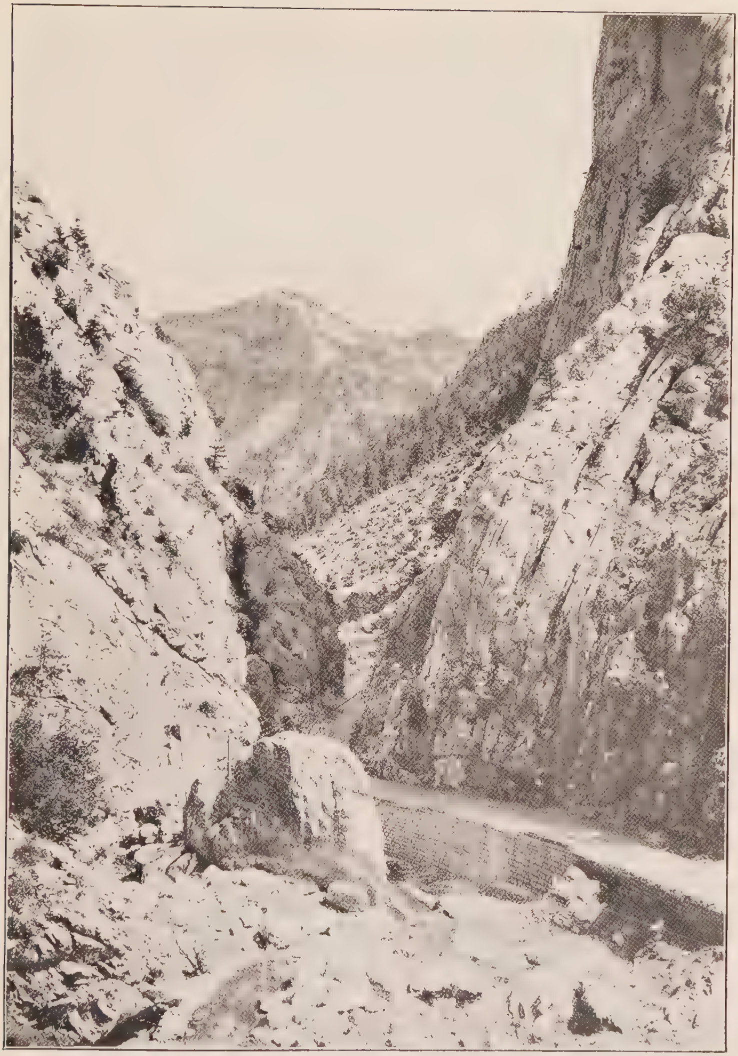
[1] Traceable clearly at Sakje-Geuji in N. Syria ; see p. 277.

[2] The name Manda, later the Medes, occurs in records of Naram-Sin of Akkad. Cf. also Fo., *Z.D.M.G.*, 1922, p. 248; and P. Giles, *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, ii. p. 15.

[3] Also known in Armenian texts. Cf. Tofteen, *Notes on Assyrian and Babylonian Geog.*, xxiii. 334.

[4] Professor Sayce would read Murri for Ḫarri or Ḫurri and identify the Ḫarrians with the Amorites. If this prove to be correct reading, and



ENTRANCE OF THE CILICIAN GATES, A MAIN PASS THROUGH TAURUS.
See pp. 37, 185.

stock, but ruled by Mitannian princes whose linguistic affinities were Aryan.[1] Their dominion ranged almost from the Tigris at Nineveh as far as the Euphrates at Carchemish, and at times passed beyond these boundaries. Their capital Wassukkani [2] is to be sought in the headwaters of the Yaghyagha Su, a tributary of the Khabur, a river of variable size the course of which lies southward through the plain.

The lower basin of the Euphrates and the Tigris, the historic and favoured alluvial area of Babylonia, was in Hittite times known as Karduniash, and Babylon was its best known centre. Here was one of the earliest homes of civilisation, which directly influenced Ḫattic culture. Long before Babylon had become in its turn the accepted leader of its numerous prosperous cities, its kings, ruling from Akkad, had claimed victory and dominion over the land of Ḫatti; [3] and certain colonies of Semitic merchants in eastern Asia Minor may date their establishment nearly from that period.[4] That contact between the two areas was early established is reflected in the fact that the oldest records of Ḫatti and of Akkad each tell of incursions into the territory of the other. The Great River, which flowed past Malatia and Carchemish and Babylon, was itself a bond between the two distant territories, though roads connecting them were few in number.

Between the rich lands of the Euphrates and the equally prosperous seaboard of Syria, there stretches out a triangle of desert, the northern apex of which is at Aleppo. To the South it melts away into the Arabian peninsula, from which

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there is much suggestive argument in its favour, the historical and ethnical background to the history of Mesopotamia and the surrounding areas will be simplified, and much detail that is now confused will be explained.

[1] 'The Mitannian language, now called Subarean, preceded Sumerian in Assur and Nineveh and extended from Arpakha (Kerkuk) on the east of the Tigris to Aleppo. In Kerkuk it was superseded by Assyro-Babylonian about 1500 B.C. In Assur and Kara Eyuk (N.E. of Kaisariyeh) Assyrian took its place in the age of Sargon of Akkad.'—A.H.S.

[2] Wassukkani, possibly Tell Washuk. Cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 49.

[3] Cf. above, n. 1, p. 1.

[4] At-Kara-Eyuk (KANES), where have been found numerous tablets of commercial character, and the lower part of a Hittite relief, apparently from the façade of a palace (see below, p. 219). The tablets are mostly dated to 2100 B.C. (Hrozný, *Syria*, vii. Pl. II. No. 1). Cf. *inter alia*, Contenau, *Trente Tablettes Cappadociennes*.

it juts out into the fertile area like a wedge. Arabia, the southern boundary to the Hittite horizon, should not be regarded, however, in the same light as Babylonia or Assyria, but as a great sub-continent, the home of a distinct race, the Semites, and in area at least as large as India or Western Europe. From it, in intermittent streams, Semitic peoples have pushed up east and west attracted by the fertile areas of the Euphrates basin and the Mediterranean coast, wherein their forerunners were already settled. They peopled Babylonia and Assyria, Palestine and Central Syria; while in Mesopotamia they completed the circuit of their wanderings, and ultimately their zone of settlement. Direct contact between Babylonia and Syria was probably not practicable in early times, though to-day the journey is occasionally accomplished. The natural lines of communication lay by way of the Euphrates, whereon in consequence Carchemish and other points of crossing early developed wealth and power. The shortest route across the Syrian Desert, however, is that which crossing the Euphrates much lower leads to Damascus by way of Tadmor (PALMYRA); but this, in common with all the tracks which traverse that bare and inhospitable region, not only suffers from a defective supply of water but is and always has been exposed also to dangers of raid and brigandage. It is significant that it has been found necessary to abandon several modern attempts to establish a more direct southerly route for motor-car service from Damascus or Jerusalem to Baghdad.

Thus it is to be noted that Syria, whose sea-board and inland plains afforded it direct communication with its southern neighbours Palestine and Egypt, had no immediate contact with the great organised societies of Babylon and Nineveh. Its communications with these lay through the northern districts of Mesopotamia, from which it was separated by the broad Euphrates.

It remains to consider briefly the relation of Syria as a part of the Hittite Empire to the centre of Ḫattic organisation which lay north of it on the plateau of Asia Minor. From our rapid survey of the Hittite world, we have seen that the communications of Ḫatti with its eastern neighbours, while not free from obstacles, were relatively numerous and easy. It was far otherwise in the South, where the range of Taurus separated the Ḫattic kingdom from its Syrian dependency and the lands which bordered it. The distinction between these two regions is one of broadly-marked physical configuration. On the one hand, as we have already seen, Ḫatti and the tableland of Asia Minor belong fundamentally to the *massif* which embraces Armenia and is continuous beyond Ararat with the Iranian Plateau. Throughout the whole length of this mountain zone, the links of communication by connected valleys and over common watersheds are practically continuous from end to end. Its mountain chains also lie mostly in the same direction: in particular Taurus with its prolongations forms a connected boundary to the Anatolian and Iranian highlands, which it holds up and separates from the lowlands of Northern Syria, Mesopotamia, and the Tigris. On the other hand, Syria, notwithstanding the physical union of AMANUS and so of its coastal ranges with Taurus, belongs primarily to the plains. So that the Empire of the Hittites resolves itself into two great portions, each with its own physical, racial and historical associations. The communications between these areas have accordingly a peculiar value.

Between Ḫatti and North Syria communication could only be maintained by one of the passes of Taurus, the most direct of which lead by Marash, and these we shall examine in some detail.[1] Suffice now to say that though the passes that descend to Cilicia are the easiest and were chosen by Cyrus the Younger and Alexander for their great expeditions, yet the ridge of AMANUS still bars the way to Northern Syria. From these and other strategic considerations it would appear probable that the passes which converge upon Marash were of first importance in the Ḫattic organisation; and the presence of numerous Hittite monuments along these routes seems to confirm the supposition.[2] Further east the crossing of the Euphrates at Samsat, and the road sometimes supposed to have been organised by the Persians for their postal service, indicate a possible means of direct contact with Mesopotamia. The rift of the Euphrates itself does not give good access, for the bed of the river where it breaks through Taurus lies deep in a ravine. The natural line of approach to Mesopotamia lies by the valley of the Tochma Su to Malatia, and thence south-east to Diarbekr and beyond. The practicable openings through Taurus from South to North are then limited to two or three; and this meagre list of main communications through more than 250 miles of frontier emphasises the separation of the plains of the Euphrates and Syria from the mountain-rimmed plateau of Asia Minor.

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[1] See below, ch. viii. and map, p. 190.

[2] See below, pp. 197 ff.

To these considerations based on the geography of the two areas, others, both ethnological and historical, may be added. Mountaineers may in time adapt themselves to the easier but enervating life of plains; but to those who have been nurtured for generations to resist only degrees of sunshine the melting of snows spells death. Thus was the plateau of Asia Minor denied to the Semitic monarchies of the plains, as indeed to Egypt, though the Hittite established himself in Northern Syria and pushed further south and east. Other lessons of history bear out this result. The Babylonians and Assyrians in antiquity, like the Arabs in more modern times, all failed to hold their hard-won footing upon the plateau of Asia Minor.

In further illustration of our conclusions, it is noticeable that the population of Anatolia to-day, notwithstanding its heterogeneous character (Turks and Greeks, Armenians, Circassians and Kurds), reflects primarily its highland relations. It is also curious and perhaps significant that those who between the Hittites and the Turks have ruled the country for any length of time, Phrygians, Persians, Macedonians and Romans, have all been of Indo-European stock. So that, though we know nothing of the Ḫattic race or races, and though official Hittite freely employed the Semitic language and syllabary for diplomatic and foreign correspondence, we are disposed on these general grounds to presuppose an Aryan or Indo-European origin for their race and rulers. In this connection an analysis of the Hittite documents shows, in fact, that apart from the Semitic and other foreign texts, two ‘ native ’ languages were employed, namely the official Hittite and the proto-Hittite, though as yet only the former of these can be translated reliably. This, the language of Ḫatti, and of its two principal allies Arzawa and Kizzuwadna, forms all sorts of words by suffixes, and its grammatical forms are found to a large proportion used in the same sense in Indo-European languages. So that, though language is not an exclusive test of race, it is

To face p. 38.

PLATE IX

BOGCHE: THE VILLAGE WHICH GIVES ITS NAME TO A CHIEF PASS OVER THE AMANUS MOUNTAINS.

See p. 187.

safe to premise at any rate a common even though remote Indo-European parentage as between that branch of Hittite and (say) Old Latin. Proto-Ḫattic names on the other hand are prefixing, and analogy is to be sought rather in the Caucasian group. Even in Mesopotamia, the Mitannian ruler's language was to some extent Aryan, with Sanscrit affinities, differing again from the common language of this area at the time, which also has Caucasian elements. The suggestion of language then, for what it is worth, would seem to indicate an original movement or series of movements from or affecting the Caucasian area, which at the same time peopled Armenia, northern Mesopotamia, and Elam, and won for the Ḫattians and other Hittite tribes a footing on the eastern mountains and plateau of Asia Minor. Here, in contact with other peoples and societies, some of which may have passed in remoter antiquity from Europe, the kings of Ḫatti gradually obtained the dominant position in which history discloses them ; while Mitannian overlords from the Iranian plateau established their ascendancy in Mesopotamia. Our preliminary glance at the physical geography of Western Asia has found no obstacle to such a theory, which is, however, only circumstantial, and liable to be modified by fresh material discoveries or even by re-interpretation of the evidences as they now appear.

Though we have examined to some extent the possible connections between Ḫatti and its historic neighbours in the East, we are reminded by the conclusions to which we have been drawn, that we have not yet inquired how far its western communications also may have influenced its destinies. The problem is, however, relatively simple ; for on that side two ways of contact were available, land and sea, and these are readily defined. The Hellespont and the Bosphorus have throughout all history served to link rather than divide the adjacent areas of Asia and Europe. The valleys of the Sakaria (SANGARIUS) on the one side and of the Maritza (HEBRUS) on the other form a continuous channel of communication between the plateau and the Danube basin ; and this is supplemented by the valleys of the Simay Chai (MACESTUS) and the Bakir Chai (CAICUS), on the one side, and those of the Struma and Vardar (STRYMON and AXIUS) on the other, coupled with the short sea passage between the opposite shores. Contact with the Balkan area was then physically continuous and relatively easy. The Troad alone remained somewhat isolated, and the position of Troy emphasised its importance as the watch-tower of the Hellespont. The pages of history provide full illustration of the strategic importance and reality of these pathways between the two continents, as may be seen in the early immigrations of Phrygians and Galatians from Europe, and the passage of successive organised forces in one direction or the other, from the time when Xerxes first showed also the possibility of invading Europe from Asia, down through the ages to the Crusades.

There remain to be considered the communications of the Hittite world by sea. Of these the Black Sea connected the northern Hittite ports, of which Sinope[1] was one and Trapezus[2] possibly another, with the Scythian coasts of southern Russia. But seafaring was in its infancy, and the Black Sea is peculiarly liable to storms. The voyage of the Argonauts, along the coast as far as Colchis, though falling possibly within our period, was regarded as an adventure of heroic magnitude.[3] Nor is there anything to suggest that the contemporary inhabitants of southern Russia were sufficiently organised to have crossed the wide waters in force or even in commercial enterprise.[4] The Aegean was quite different. In summer time the weather is usually good, and though fresh breezes blow, it is quite possible for a small sailing boat to cross freely from coast to coast.[5] The routes are dotted with numerous islands that give shelter against storms, and both shores abound in creeks for anchorage. On the Hittite side the valleys of the Hermus and Maeander provided ready means of communication with the tableland. But the Ḫattians themselves were an inland and not a seafaring people, and until the Mycenaean age there is no trace of intercommunication.[1]

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[1] Modern Sinub, Hittite *Sinuwa*, the digamma becoming β, as frequently (cf. *Index H.N.*, *Kuwalia*, p. 31, and Ramsay, *H.G.*, pp. 22 and 312 n.). See also below, pp. 58, 74.

[2] Trebizond: Hittite *Teburzia*, *Index H.N.*, p. 46.

[3] Homer, *Odyssey*, xii. 70.

[4] See the illuminative account by Rostoftzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in Southern Russia* (Oxford, 1922), esply. ch. ii., also a further discussion by the same writer in *B.S.A. Annual*, xxii. p. 2.

[5] Cf. Homer, *Odyssey*, iii. 169-78, where the returning warriors 'debate the long voyage,' and after discussing the alternatives, decide to go 'through the midst of the sea, as being the quickest and therefore safest. The ships went fast and came . . . on the fourth day to Argos.' Cf. also Tozer, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge 1897), p. 23.

It might be expected that the island civilisation of Crete, which is traced back at Knossos and elsewhere to an antiquity far older than the earliest records of Ḫatti, would have profoundly affected the culture of the opposite mainland. Such was apparently not the case; Crete developed in isolation, notwithstanding intermittent trade relations with Egypt and elsewhere. The mainland of Greece shows relatively little direct impress of Cretan influences, while the coastal areas of Asia Minor, though not adequately explored, are equally devoid of evidence of contact. On the contrary such explorations as have been made lead to the conclusion that 'the Ionian coast was long dominated by an inland continental power, that of Cappadocian Ḫatti, who imposed their own distinct civilisation and admitted the Aegean culture only as a faint influence ascending along the trade routes.'[2] Classical tradition reflects indeed intimate relations between Caria and Crete,[3] but these would appear to refer to events subsequent to the fall of Ḫatti; while such legends as seem to relate to the coastal areas of Asia Minor previous to that epoch maintain the dominance of the Ḫattic influence.[4] The resemblances of religious cults and deities, such as that of Rhea to Cybele, point indeed to a very old cultural and presumably ethnical relation, dating back possibly beyond the origins of Ḫattic rule: but it was again the interior rather than Crete or Greece that seems to have more profoundly influenced religious tendencies upon the coasts. 'The Goddess of the Phrygian mountains became at Smyrna the Sipylene Mother, and at Ephesus Artemis of the Many Breasts was worshipped with rites more oriental than Greek.' This conclusion is borne out by such detailed evidence as is available. Certain ivory statuettes found in the foundations of the temple of Artemis point also to a direct influence from the religious cults symbolised by the sculptures of the Ḫattic capital.[1] Such pottery fragments and other small objects as have been found indubitably in Hittite strata, though too few to use as conclusive argument, tend also to illustrate the independent development of culture on the peninsula.

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[1] A Hittite seal was found in excavation near the Lion Gate of Mycenae, the sculptures and design of which are reminiscent of Phrygian-Hittite art. See p. 16, n. 2.

[2] Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, pp. 101-2. Cf. Frankfort, *Asia, Europe, and the Aegean*, Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1927.

[3] Cf. Herodotus, i. 171; Strabo, xiv. ii. 27.

[4] Traditions of the Solymi in LYCIA seem to embody the exploits of Mursil in the region; while the Atyadae of LYDIA, who preceded the Heracleidae as rulers of that area, were apparently vassals of the Ḫattic rulers. See above, ch. i. p. 18; also below, ch. vii. (*b*), p. 174.

The full significance of this conclusion becomes all the more apparent in considering the third possible source of contact, that across the eastern Mediterranean with Egypt. The Egyptians under the Pharaohs of the Empire (which was contemporary in round terms with that of Ḫatti) were indeed given to seafaring. But their boats were designed from those familiar upon the Nile, and were not well suited for the high seas. Expeditions down the Red Sea and coasting trade with neighbouring ports of Syria, though long initiated, remained apparently the limit to their usual undertakings.[2] It was left to the Keftian traders to carry on commercial intercourse that brought to Egypt the wares of Crete and Mycenae,[3] and left no doubt an impress around the Levantine coasts at numerous places still unexplored. The Egyptian sea-contact ended there; and notwithstanding one or two recorded cases of direct communication,[4] the northern coasts and islands of the Mediterranean were unknown to the Egyptians, undistinguishable across the far mists of the sea which had no attractions to them.[5]

The coming of the Achaeans and the Sea-Rovers in the fourteenth century B.C. introduced an element of warlike adventure into the maritime relations of the eastern Mediterranean. The traditional voyages of pre-Greek heroes around the coasts of Egypt and Syria have too long been relegated to the realm of myth ; and difficulties in the interpretation of certain passages in the Hittite documents do not invalidate these records. The main lines of the Achaean penetration can indeed be followed, and so far as they can be tested they seem good. In any case, when we approach the end of the Ḫattic regime we reach firmer ground. Egyptian records show that by 1225 B.C. Achaean bands had traversed the Mediterranean and raided the shores of Egypt,[1] and this distant expedition accords with the fact that in the Hittite archives the Achaeans are traced about this time to Cyprus.[2] Associated with the Achaeans in that raid, amongst others, were the *Luku*, about whose identity in name with the Lycians there is little doubt. Achaeans and Lycians appear again before Troy, but this time on opposing sides ; and it is of peculiar interest to find them, in the persons of Diomede and Glaucus, recalling with pleasure and respect their parental comradeship.[3] In this matter the Egyptian, Hittite, and Homeric records are accordant, enhancing the historicity of the narrative, which becomes imbued at the same time with human interest and a fresh importance. The interrelation of these bands is a factor that may help to elucidate the details of the movements now taking place. Tradition affirms, for instance, a close affinity between the Phrygians and the Carians ;[4] and it is noticeable that at the time when the former were working their way up the Sangarius, the Achaeans under Attarisiyas were striving to enlarge their foothold in Caria. A concerted scissor-like movement from these two bases would be calculated to lop off Lydia and the Troad from their Ḫattic allegiance ;[5] and this was indeed the issue. However that may be, these inroads, whether by land or sea, are evidence of an increasing torrent of migration from Europe. This arrived too late and was too impetuous to undermine the foundations of Hittite culture; but its impact shook the throne, and called for all the resources of the Ḫattic king to stave off the menace. On that side of Asia Minor, there was no natural rampart like that of Taurus behind which to entrench himself; and the centuries of organisation that had hitherto protected Ḫatti against the East were now of no avail. The Dardanian element on the other hand was for a time visibly in league with the Ḫattic kings.[1] It would seem that the fall of Troy, an incident in the drama of these times, opened the flood-gates of Europe to a migration that submerged the Ḫattic Dynasty and largely repeopled the peninsula.[2] The wave swept onwards into Syria where it broke finally against the bulwarks of Egypt. The lesson on these times is this: of all the connections of the Hittite world by land and sea, those with Europe were the most important factor in the fall of Ḫatti. Was it a case of history repeating itself? Had the Hittite ancestry been derived from the same source, coming by the same way? The European affinities of language and institutions and the open nature of the route are alike accordant with such a possibility.

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[1] Sir C. Smith in *Excavations at Ephesus: I. The Archaic Artemisia*, p. 173.

[2] Relations with Byblos were, however, established from the beginning of Egyptian history. Cf. Montet, *Syria*, ii. (1921), pp. 333 *et sqq.*; also Newberry, *Egypt as a Field for Anthrop. Res.* (Brit. Ass., 1923, Presdtl. Address, Sect. H).

[3] Keftian ships are associated in an Egyptian record with those from the Syrian ports of Sektu (? Sigata) and Byblos (Breasted, *A.R.*, ii. 492). Keftian leaders also are associated with Ḫatti and Syrian principalities (*e.g.* Tunip). Cf. Müller, *Egypt. Res.*, ii., Pl. 7, 8. Possibly they came from Cilicia; but the name does not appear in the Hittite texts. Cf. Wainwright, *Liv. A.A.*, vi. (1914), p. 75.

[4] The sending of ships to the port of Wura (? Myra) with grain for the relief of a famine in the Hittite lands is noteworthy. Fo., *M.D.O.G.* 63 (1924). Cf. also Breasted, *A.R.*, iii. 465.

[5] Dr. Hall suggests that Keftiu meant to the Egyptians 'The Back of the Beyond' (*Anct. Hist. of the Near East*, p. 248).

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[1] In the reign of Merneptah: Breasted, *A.R.* iii. p. 579.

[2] *K.U.B.* xiv. No. 1; cf. Fo., *M.D.O.G.* 63, pp. 21, 22, also Götze, *Maduwattas*, p. 10, § 36, ll. 86, 88.

[3] Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 815-17.

[4] Cf. Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, ix. pp. 372 ff.

[5] It is in the light of this strategic situation, we believe, that the geography of the Maduwattas text can be explained, and its political significance appreciated.

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[1] There is also the suggestion of a Dardanian settlement upon the south coast in the recognition by Mutallis of a Prince Alaksandus as chief of Uilusa, one of the four principalities of Arzawa, and possibly to be identified with the island city of ELAEUSA (*Index H.N.*, p. 48). A legend of the reception of Paris by the 'Assyrian' king Motulos seems to reflect the same relations. See below, ch. vii. p. 183.

[2] Cf. Breasted, *A.R.*, iv. 64; also ch. i. p. 10, n. 5.

CHAPTER III

LANDMARKS OF ASIA MINOR

Importance of the physical features. The HALYS River: its political influence. The Circuit of Mountains: encloses the Hittite monuments. The Coastlands mostly excluded: exception of PONTUS. Natural Divisions of the Plateau: Features of the four chief Regions: the central plain.

FROM the foregoing general survey of the historic areas that bordered on the Hittite Empire, we come now to consider more nearly that central region of the Anatolian Plateau which comprised the domain of Ḫatti and its kindred neighbours. In a previous work [1] twenty years ago we had to recognise that this area was practically undefined, and indeed numerous problems still remain unsolved; but the earlier indications, derived from the disposition of the monuments and the physical features of the country, may now be helpfully reconsidered in the light of the newly deciphered political documents. It is true that the new sources do not yet enable us to delimit the territory of Ḫatti, nor to define the mutual boundaries of the states comprising the inner group. Though the Ḫattic kings kept an ordered record of successive treaties, defining boundaries with and between the states, both those of the Hittite group and those enrolled at various epochs within the Empire, the identity of numerous place-names mentioned is not yet agreed; and only when these records have been finally interpreted, will it be possible to trace the course of political developments in detail. The outline of the picture is however clearer. Already it may be seen that boundaries varied not infrequently according to the political ascendancy of one principality or another. Moreover, some names (like *TUWANUWA*, *KUWALIA*, *ḪURSUNASSA*, *YARUWADDAS* and *ḪALAB*) can be recognised,[2] and form landmarks; so that we are able to visualise, in a general way, a limit to the expansion of Ḫatti, and a boundary to the Hittite group of states.

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[1] *The Land of the Hittites* (1910), p. 1.

[2] Simulating classical TYANA, CABALIA, and CHERSONESOS, and the modern names of Arwad and Aleppo. The sites are to be identified (*a*) by

In addition to town-names, mountains and rivers are freely mentioned in the definition of boundaries[1] by the Hittite archivists, and were often sanctified.[2] The physical features, then, must play a leading part in our considerations; and we propose accordingly in this chapter to examine those of the plateau, and to note their influence on the course of history. They are the permanent factors in our problem; and such an examination is essential to a proper understanding of the conditions that must have affected from the beginning the political organisation of the land. It will help us to realise the relation, physical and political, of Ḫatti, the dominant partner, to the other Hittite states; and to distinguish this group as a whole from those outlying areas which were at various times linked together within the Hittite Empire.

Happily the starting point for our inquiry is not in doubt; it is the position of the capital, the City of Ḫatti itself, which, though its name has disappeared from the map, remained for nearly a thousand years the heart and political centre of

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the indications in the contexts, (*b*) by the grouping of the names. Thus *TUWANUWA* appears on the frontier of *ARZAWA* together with *UDA*, presumably Hyde, indicating TYANA. *KUWALIA* appears as a province of *ARZAWA* grouped with the district of *MIRA* and the town *WIYANAWANDA* (obviously OENEANDA), thus indicating CABALIA in the Lycian area. *ḪURSUNASSA* is associated in texts relating to Achaean invasions with a transparently Carian group, see below, p. 179. *YARUWADDAS* is the Hittite form of Arwad on the Syrian coast, an equation confirmed by the texts. Ḫalab as Aleppo is unchanged. For a further discussion, see Index of the Hittite Names (*B.S.A.J.*, suppl. papers, 1923), though, for the reasons stated, many of the conclusions are liable to modification. Indeed none of the workers in this field of research has arrived at results which are generally acceptable, and we avoid accordingly the use of geographical identifications as a main argument in this volume. Compare, for example, the maps published by Forrer, *Forschungen* (Berlin, 1926), also in *M.D.O.G.* 61, with those of Götze, *Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit* (1924), and the latter's conclusions in his *Madduwattas* (Leipzig, 1927), also the later contribution by Bilalel (*Geschichte Vorderasiens . . .* (1927), pp. 259-82 with map), all of which illustrate radical and disappointing divergence of results.

[1] *E.g.* the treaty between Ḫatti and Kizzuwadna; rev., col. iv. l. 50 and ll. 59-66 (Weidner, *Pol. Dok.*, p. 111).

[2] *E.g.* treaty between Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza of Mitanni; rev., col. iv. l. 44 (Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 19). Mt. Hermon and the Lebanon are similarly invoked in a Syrian treaty (*Index H.N.*, p. 41, n. Sariana).

A VALLEY IN THE TAURUS.
See p. 163.

GORGE OF THE HALYS ABOVE SIVAS.

TWO RIVER VALLEYS OF THE PLATEAU.
See p. 48.

the Hittite world.[1] It is placed, as we have seen, in the north-east of the plateau, at the head of one of the small streams that feed the Delije Irmak (the Cappadox), itself one of the tributaries of the Halys, and thus well within the great loop of the latter. In this position it was almost on the watershed of the plateau on that side, where the basin of the Halys is divided from the rivers of the Pontic area. It is, in fact, only some twelve miles from the divide between the sources of the Scylax (Chekerek Irmak) and those of the Cappadox; and the former river is a tributary of the Iris, which belongs more strictly to the coastal system.

Looking around upon the map[2] it is noticeable that though the distance as the crow flies from Boghaz-Keui to the coast of the Black Sea at Samsun is only 125 miles, it is 225 miles to the Euphrates at Malatia or to the nearest point of the Mediterranean near Tarsus, while it is 400 miles to the Aegean Sea near Smyrna, and about the same distance to Damascus. The Ḫattic capital occupied then at first glance a singular position, isolated in a corner of the plateau over which it ruled and detached in that way from the more distant parts of the Empire. The explanation of this apparent incongruity will be one of the problems of our inquiry.[3]

Looking now at the physical features we note firstly that the course of the Halys, which bounds the immediate vicinity of the capital on three sides, would seem to form a natural landmark, as between the original tribe of Ḫatti and its kindred neighbours; and we will presently examine the political history of the river valley from that point of view. Further afield, the most conspicuous feature of the plateau is the encircling chain of mountains, which to the North-east is somewhat discontinuous, but on the other sides forms an unbroken horizon to the Ḫattic landscape. The same circuit of mountains will be found also to circumscribe the positions of all but two of the known Hittite monuments on the peninsula. For both these reasons this feature also merits evidently detailed consideration.

We commence then with the Halys (Kizil Irmak), the most potential single feature of the plateau. This splendid river is about 500 miles in length. Its numerous sources are found on and around the slopes of the Kizil Dagh (9600 feet), in the northern watershed of the Euphrates, near the great bend of that river towards the South. From its starting-point the HALYS falls rapidly, flowing westward mostly through narrow gorges, until at Zara, the first town of any importance in its track, it has found the level of 4500 feet. In its southern watershed, hereabouts, rise the heights of the Deli Dagh (9000 feet) and the Gurliuk Dagh (8300 feet) ;[1] while to the north the peaks of Keusse and Habash Dagh, though not attaining the same heights, are conspicuous features of the ridge that encloses the valley on that side. The saddles between the pairs of mountains, though themselves not less than 6000 feet above sea-level, provide a passage for a secondary north-south track which traverses the valley at Zara. From here the fall of the river is less pronounced, and its course tends a little to the South. It is still hemmed in on either hand until, passing by Kemis, it reaches Sivas (SEBASTEIA), now the headquarters of the province. At this point, which is about 150 miles from the river's source, the water-level is 4000 feet above the sea. The northern ridge now breaks ; but the chain of mountains to the South is marked by the Tedger Dagh,[2] which rises to 6500 feet, and culminates in the important though not very prominent heights of Tonus Dagh.[3] Between these two there occurs a convenient opening through which a main route of great antiquity connects with Malatia, and so doubtless provided one of the strategic communications between *ḪATTUSAS* and the South-east. The river valley itself, above Sivas, linked the capital with the East, so that the site of Sivas, by whatever name it was known,[4] must have been an important centre under the Ḫattic rulers.

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[1] In Hittite times, as we have seen, called *Ḫattusas*; in early Greek history Pteria; and now Boghaz-Keui (the Gorge-village). See also pp. 79 ff.

[2] To face p. 1.

[3] Cf. below, pp. 66-77.

Tonus is not only interesting as the watershed of the three major river systems,[5] but it forms from our standpoint the westerly limit of the Armenian mountain area. On the opposite side of the HALYS rises the Ak-Dagh (9000 feet), and between the two the river now enters the central plateau. Though still enclosed, its valley here broadens somewhat: acres of pine-forest are seen not infrequently upon its slopes; and arable soil which in the upper reaches occurred only in patches, is now more widespread, and rewards the plough with generous acres of cornland. Around Sivas, in particular, the confluence of several streams with the main river forms a small and fertile plain. Below Sivas, however, the bed of the river gradually falls some 500 feet below the general level of the surrounding country and so continues throughout its course. For the most part, its banks are steep and rocky, so that no more important towns are found upon the waterside, and villages occur only here and there, where the enclosing ridge is broken by the entry of some small tributary. On the other hand, numerous villages lie back upon the higher ground, depending upon the short streams rather than the parent river.

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[1] The general position of these ranges is indicated in our sketch map, p. 54, by the numerals 1 and 2.

[2] Indicated in the map, p. 54, by the numeral 3.

[3] Cl. TONOSA, possibly the POMOSA of Ptolemy (Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 275).

[4] Cl. SEBASTEIA.

[5] Below, p. 53.

From Sivas, the HALYS flows south-west, and at a distance of 90 miles it may be crossed at the important fords opposite Kaisariyeh (CAESAREA MAZACA), which lies back some twenty miles from its southern bank, at the foot of the Erjias Dagh (Mt. ARGAEUS). Kaisariyeh is important as the meeting-place of several roads. That from Sivas for most of the way follows the high slopes of the valley, until it seeks a more direct line behind the hills. But that which here crosses the river towards the same objective, comes down directly from Boghaz-Keui by Yuzgad, and is doubtless of pre-Persian origin, forming in the Ḫattic scheme one of the main arteries of communication. The fords of the HALYS are now replaced by bridges, that most used being constructed of many spans,[1] while one of a single-span crosses a gorge some twenty miles below.[2] Hereabouts are characteristic troglodyte dwellings carved in the rocky banks. The track which heretofore has followed the water's edge encounters from this point increasing difficulties, and frequently seeks an easier passage on the higher ground. Twelve miles below the upper bridge, near a village called Yamoola, a giant carving of an eagle on lions overlooks the water from the northern side.[3] Some twenty miles further down, near a village called Bogshe, the river flowing meanwhile mostly

[1] Chok-Geuz Keupri.

[2] Bir-Geuz Keupri.

[3] Described below, p. 122.

through a gorge, a boundary stone inscribed with incised Hittite hieroglyphs[1] stands upon the southern bank. Here also is a ford, which may be crossed usually in summer weather, but not after rain.

Ten miles further, at Avanos, the river attains its extreme southerly point, and commences to bend northwards in a wide continuous sweep which eventually turns it entirely upon its original direction. The level of its stream is now about 3000 feet above the sea, and it flows for the most part deep below the plateau which it drains. The flood of water is now great. Fed by innumerable short streams on either hand, it swells rapidly after rain,[2] and below this point there are few fords. Bridges now span its course at several places where routes lead across, notably at Avanos itself, next at Arebsun some thirty miles beyond, and again at a further distance of some fifty miles at Kesik Keupri, opposite the supposed site of NYSSA. Each of these bridges marks the position of an ancient ford. But the most useful and historic crossing is found at Chesme Keupri, some fifty miles lower, almost at the most westerly point of the river's course. At this convenient spot there occurs an exceptionally open ford, where in consequence from earliest times a main high road has passed from East to West. Under the Ḫattic rulers it linked the capital at Boghaz-Keui with the western coast by a route well defined by Hittite monuments. As early at any rate as Persian times, the favourable position where the waters narrow just below the ford, was spanned by a bridge, which has always been maintained.[3]

Some twenty miles below, the last practicable crossings are found at Yaksi Han, eastward from Angora. Beyond that the river descends towards the coast through the northern ranges in a series of rocky and impassable defiles. Its waters generally are too deep and too swift to ford, with the possible exception of the dangerous crossings at Kara

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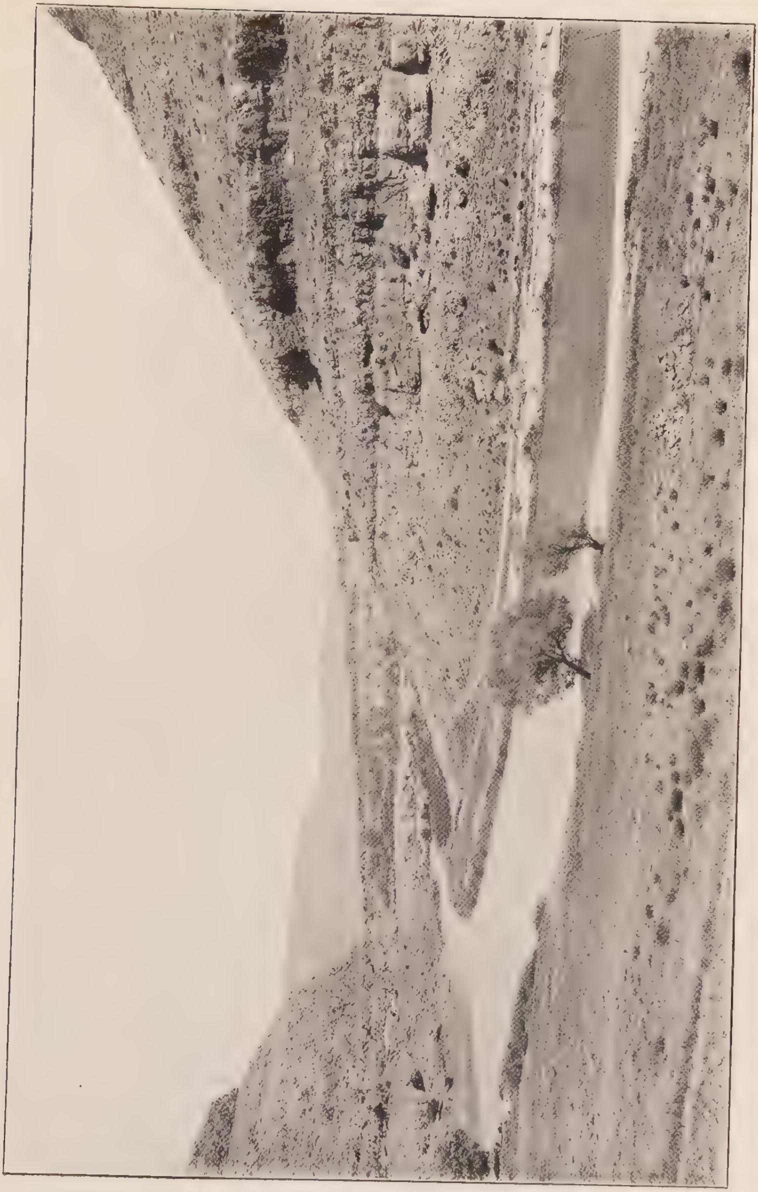
[1] Described below, p. 121.

[2] The rich alluvium which it carries away has gained for it the soubriquet 'Red River,' which dates from Hittite days.

[3] This bridge is specially mentioned by Herodotus, i. 75, but the date of its origin is not suggested. There is no indication that the Hittites constructed bridges; and the system of counterpoised arch, as employed in the gateways of the capital, would seem too cumbrous for the purpose (Pl. XVIII.). The only monument at the spot is a piece of carving which simulates a Hittite lion, but its antiquity is doubtful. Cf. p. 145.

To face p. 50.

PLATE XI



THE HALYS RIVER OPPOSITE CAESAREA MAZACA, BETWEEN THE CHOK GEUZ AND BİR GEUZ BRIDGES.

Tepe and Vezir Keui, on the road from Amasia by Boyabad to Sinub.[1] It is not until the coastal plain is reached that the waters spread and become gentle enough to make the passage relatively easy; as witness the bridges and fords of Bafra, between Samsun and Sinub.

Reviewing the leading features of the HALYS river from the standpoint of Hatti, we may divide its course into three sectors, each with its distinct political value. In the uppermost, from its sources as far as the most southerly point of the river near Avanos, there is no interruption to ordinary riverine communication, both along the valley and between its banks. The middle sector includes the great loop of the river between the extreme southerly and westerly points of its course. In this fords become rare and increasingly difficult. Only three in a distance of 150 miles, namely those of Kesik Keupri, Chesme Keupri, and Yaksi Han, may be regarded as political factors in Hittite times; and these led from the capital towards the South-west and West. In the third or lowest sector the river breaks through the northern ranges and descends from the plateau through a series of defiles, forming a barrier across which communication must at all times have been difficult and liable to interruption.

The lessons of post-Hittite history bear out in general the tendency of these physical considerations. The upper valley seems never to have formed a boundary to an administrative area. Both banks were included in the IVth Persian Satrapy, as later in the Roman province of CAPPADOCIA, and more recently in the Turkish villayets of Sivas and of Angora, the latter claiming the bridges giving access to Kaisariyeh, and extending southwards so as to include the city itself. The middle sector, however, has proved an occasional landmark, sometimes used as a boundary, but as often overlooked or overrun. In the beginning it seems to have separated two Persian Satrapies; later it formed to a variable extent a boundary between LYCAONIA and CAPPADOCIA; but in the provincial organisation both these areas were included in the province of GALATIA.[2] In the Byzantine era it played no active political rôle; while, finally, for long under the Turkish administration (from Constantinople), it formed part of the boundary between the villayets of Angora and Konia.

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[1] SINOPE. See what is said about this road, below, p. 74.

[2] Cf. Ramsay, *H.G.*, pp. 283 ff., and map to face p. 197.

The lowest sector, on the other hand, has always marked a boundary, defined either by the course of the river itself, or by its neighbouring heights, until emerging on the coasts near Bafra. It marked the borders in Roman times of GALATIA, PONTUS and PAPHLAGONIA, and in the Byzantine period of various civil and ecclesiastical districts. Under Turkish rule the boundary between the provinces of Trebizond and Sinub, though it leaves the bed of the river, follows the neighbouring ridge and crosses the Dutman Dagh to the coast between Sinub and Bafra. Accordingly, with the exception of the coastal strip, we must regard the last sector in the course of the HALYS as a barrier in Hittite times to tribal union and expansion, a conclusion that seems justified by the total lack of evidence in the Hittite records of relations between its opposing banks. This result seems further to be borne out by the racial and religious differences indicated by early classical writers. The inhabitants of the land within the HALYS were aptly described as White Syrians[1] in contradistinction to the Lydians or other familiar peoples of the Greek world and to the Semites beyond Taurus; while the attempt of the Phrygian Cleon to introduce at COMANA of PONTUS rites connected with pig-worship,[2] familiar on the west side of the HALYS,[3] produced there great offence.

We reach, then, a probable conclusion that the City-State of Ḫatti would first absorb with increasing power the area within the HALYS, and would then tend to overflow towards the South-east and South, where the river opposed no obstacle to political expansion; and so working south and west gradually to annex the parts of the plateau between the river and the coastal mountains in those directions.[4] There is, as we have indicated, no monumental or documentary suggestion of Hittite penetration into the North-west, the district of later PAPHLAGONIA, and this fact, we have seen, agrees with the physical considerations.

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[1] Herodotus, i. 76; Strabo, XII. iii. 9.

[2] Strabo, XII. viii. 9.

[3] Pausanias (VII. xvii. 10) tells us that at PESSINUS abstinence from pig-flesh was the general rule. This we regard as evidence of the sacred character of the animal, differing from Ramsay's view on this point (*H.G.*, p. 32).

[4] If the city *KUSSAR* of the earliest records (p. 1) proves to have been placed in eastern Taurus or COMMAGENE, the migration (or transplanting of the capital) to *ḪATTUSAS*, in the infancy of the nation, would be equally consistent with the physical conditions outlined.

We come now to consider that broader feature of encircling mountains which seem to have formed the ultimate boundary to the expansion of Ḫatti and to the original settlement of the Hittite tribes. The ranges that enclose the inner plateau are in general well defined, and some of them form the main watersheds of the coastal rivers. Their circuit is continuous, except on the North, where the two far-reaching rivers, the SANGARIUS and the HALYS itself, break through the northern chain. On the South the range of Taurus presents indeed so marked a barrier that most of the rivers rising within it fail to find an outlet, and either stagnate, forming marshes, or empty into a series of small lakes which they maintain. Further east, it is true, the two great Cilician rivers, the Seihun and Jeihan (Cl. SARUS and PYRAMUS), also work their way through to the coast, but the area to which their upper streams give life hardly belongs to the inner tableland, from which it is separated by the range of Anti-Taurus.

The enclosing circuit of mountain and watershed may be readily traced upon a map.[1] The heights in which the HALYS itself rises may be taken as a convenient starting-point. Their summit in the Kizil Dagh attains the height of 9500 feet and forms the western extremity of the northern watershed of the Euphrates. The HALYS gathers its first waters from the saddle between the adjoining systems and flows west. Southwards certain small streams, notably the Kara-budak (Cl. SABRINA), fall rapidly to join the Great River just before this turns abruptly towards the South; while in its northern slopes rise several early tributaries of the Kelkid Irmak (Cl. LYCUS). From this point a continuous chain of high mountains,[2] trending south-west, separates the basin of the Euphrates from that of the HALYS until in the craggy summits of Tonus Dagh (7000 feet) the watershed itself divides. Here are found also the furthest sources of the Zamanti Su, the main tributary of the Cilician SARUS; so that at this point there part the waters of three widely separated seas, namely the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. One branch of the watershed, that of the Euphrates, now trends in a south-easterly direction, separating the tributaries of that river, in particular the Tochma Su, from the head-waters of the Jeihan (Pyramus) until it unites with the main range of Taurus between Malatia and Marash. The other arm of the watershed from Tonus Dagh continues its south-westerly direction, and, though somewhat more broken, it forms the border of the central plateau, and holds up the higher basin of the Zamanti Su. This watershed includes Khanzir Dagh[1] (9000 feet), and connects at its most westerly point with Erjias

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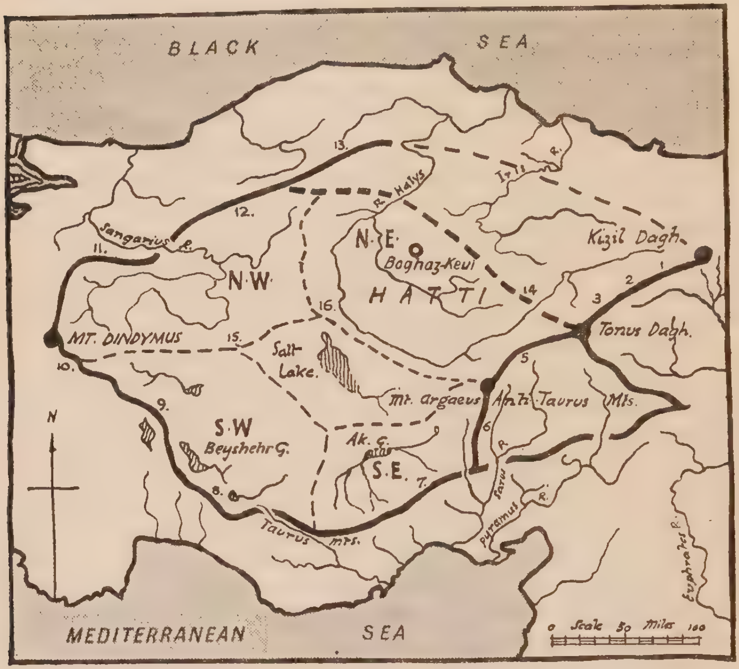
[1] See the accompanying sketch map, p. 54.

[2] The Deli Dagh, 8500 ft., Gurliuk Dagh, 9000 ft., and the Tedger Dagh, 8000 ft. Cf. Pl. x.


BLACK SEA
13.
12.
R. Halys
Iris
4.
N·E·
Boghaz-Keui
HATTI
Kizil Dagh
1
2
3
14
Sangarius R.
11.
N·W·
16.
MT. DINDYMUS
15.
Salt Lake.
Tonus Dagh.
5
10.
9.
Mt. Argaeus
Anti-Taurus Mts.
6
N
S·W
Beyshehr G.
Ak G.
S.E.
7.
Saru R.
8.
Pyramus R.
Euphrates R.
Taurus Mts.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
0 Scale 50 Miles 100

The Enclosing Circuit of Mountains and Natural Divisions of the Plateau.

Key to Reference Numbers.

1. Deli Dagh.
2. Gurliuk Dagh.
3. Tedger ,,
4. Tonus ,,
5. Khanzir Dagh.
6. Ala ,,
7. Bulgar ,,
8. Haidar ,,
9. Sultan Dagh.
10. Murad ,,
11. Boz ,,
12. Ala ,,
13. Kush Dagh.
14. Ak ,,
15. Emir ,,
16. Pasha ,,

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[1] Indicated in our sketch map on this page by the numeral 5.

Dagh (ARGAEUS), the highest pinnacle of the plateau (13,000 feet), whence, trending rather more directly southwards, in the Ala Dagh[1] (8500 feet) it connects in its turn with Taurus. These two arms of the main watershed together with eastern Taurus thus enclose an irregularly triangular area, which comprises the highlands of Anti-Taurus and historic CATAONIA, wherein are found some of the most interesting Hittite monuments and the most ancient shrines.[2]

The chain we have followed thus far from Mount ARGAEUS to the Ala Dagh formed for long the administrative boundary between the Turkish provinces of Adana in Cilicia and that of Konia upon the central plateau. The border-line continues sharply defined to the south-west along the crest of the Bulghar Dagh,[3] which rises to 12,500 feet, and forms a northern boundary of CILICIA TRACHEIA, as far as the valley of the Geuk Su (CALYCADNUS). This river is worthy of special notice because its valley provides the one relatively easy road through Taurus to the Cilician coast. The boundary has here reached its most southerly point; and beyond this there is a change, which affects our further demarcation of the tableland all around its south-western border, in that the water-parting which defines the plateau is no longer coincident with the main ranges which mark off the coastlands. There is, however, no difficulty in drawing a line between the river systems of the interior and those of the coasts, and this will necessarily indicate the watersheds that directly interest our inquiry. Such a line will pass between the waters that flow on the one hand to the small inland lakes, the Ak Geul and the Soghla Geul, and on the other to join the Geuk Su. Continuing, our boundary, omitting its minor deviations, encloses the two great Lycaonian lakes of Beyshehr and Egirdir; and beyond this, turning more towards the North, it separates the sources of the Menderes and Gediz Chai (MAEANDER and HERMUS) from those of the Akar Chai (the inland CAYSTER) and the Sakaria (SANGARIUS) respectively, finding its culmination and turning-point in the Murad Dagh (Mt. DINDYMUS, 8200 feet).

From the Murad Dagh the watershed lies away due northwards between the sources of the Adranos Chai (RHYNDACUS) and the western tributaries of the SANGARIUS until it turns directly towards the East,[1] separating now the main stream of the Sangarius from its western arm, the Pursuk Chai (Cl. Tembris) which flows eastwards to the point of union. The same ridge formed the frontier between Phrygia and Bithynia. Continuing so, for about a hundred miles, the range is there sharply broken by the bed of the Sangarius itself ;[2] and the watershed, running north of east, follows the well-defined coastal ranges[3] until the Halys is approached. This is a natural boundary, and it gives the general line even now to the border of the administrative province of Sinub or Sinope.

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[1] *Ibid.*, numbered 6.

[2] See below, ch. viii. p. 195.

[3] Cf. map, p. 54, numbered 7.

East of the Halys we find our first and only difficulty in seeking to complete the circuit of the inner plateau by following the line of watershed. Between Boghaz-Keui and Samsun the coastal ranges are broken by the several tributaries of the Lycus, notably the Scylax and the Iris ; and these again lie curiously enclosed within the great loop of the Halys, so that the inner ranges are divided and irregular. As a result there is here no continuous barrier as elsewhere to form a frontier. In the earliest scheme of organisation visible to history, that of the Persian Empire, the whole area was in fact grouped together in a single Satrapy ; and the frequent oscillations of the frontier of Pontus reflect the same peculiarity,[4] which must have had an important bearing also on the development of Ḫatti. We close our circuit then tentatively by a line which after crossing the Halys[5] follows the secondary watershed between the tributaries of that river and those of the Iris, and lies in a south-easterly direction, terminating in the Ak Dagh[6] opposite to Tonus. This line traces virtually the modern boundary between the villayets of Sivas and Angora ; and we take it also to mark the earliest frontier of Pontus as indicated by Strabo[7] though subsequently modified by internal developments, and again by Roman organisation. The alternative border-line would lie further to the North, along the coastal ranges, crossing the course of the IRIS twice; after which it would follow the chain that separates the LYCUS from the upper HALYS, and so regain our extreme starting-point in the Kizil Dagh. This line divides for some way the modern villayets of Trebizond[1] and Sivas; it does not seem, however, in earlier history to have formed an administrative or political boundary, though from a military standpoint it would seem to have had advantages over the weaker position and character of the inner one, and for this reason it should be kept in view when pursuing our inquiry at a later stage.

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[1] Just below lat. 39°. Numbered 11 in the map, p. 54.

[2] Approaching long. 32°.

[3] Numbered 12 and 13 in our map, p. 54.

[4] Cf. Ramsay, *H.G.*, pp. 317 ff., *The Ponto-Cappadocian Frontier*.

[5] About lat. 45°.

[6] Numbered 14 in our map, p. 54.

[7] Strabo, xii. iii. 9. Ramsay (*H.G.*, p. 315, etc.) interprets the passage differently, taking the line between the Halys and its tributary the Cappadox ; but he recognises that sectors of this ridge and watershed were incorporated at various times in the frontier of Pontus, as later in the boundaries of *strategiai* (cf. Ramsay, *H.G.*, map, p. 266). The upper course of the Scylax and the Ak Dagh were on the line of the adminis-

The point we have reached in the Ak Dagh on the right bank of the HALYS rises immediately opposite to the Tonus Dagh, which at an earlier stage we found to be a physical landmark of special interest.[2] Between these, the HALYS flows as through a door. Save for this gap our circuit is now complete. The enclosed area is irregularly oval or even quadrilateral in shape. Its length from Tonus in the East to DINDYMUS in the West is rather less than 400 miles; while from South to North, adopting the inner boundary, the distance is 250 miles.

The circuit of watershed and mountain so outlined not only defines for us the inner border of the plateau, but it encloses in an instructive way practically all the Hittite monuments belonging properly to the peninsula.[3] Outside it indeed there are only two, and these are near the mouth of the HERMUS,[4] where the most historic highway from the interior made its way to the western sea. Apart from these, the coastal belt that enfolds the plateau on three sides, from Samsun at the eastern end of the Black Sea all round the West and South as far as the Giaour Dagh (Mt. AMANUS), has failed as yet to disclose to exploration a single monument that can be classed definitely as Hittite and few works that can be attributed to Hittite influence.[5] The

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trative boundary of the province of Angora under the government of Constantinople.

[1] Tirabzun, Cl. TRAPEZUS.

[2] Pp. 48, 53, above.

[3] Compare the outline marked on the map, p. 54, with the sites of monuments indicated on the map facing p. 342.

[4] On Mount SIPYLUS and the pass of Kara-Bel, see below, pp. 173 ff.

[5] See the walls of CADYANDA, below, p. 181 and fig. 13.

demarcation is then very clear, and such political documents as can be held with confidence to refer to the coastlands bear out entirely the indication of the monuments. The rulers in the small states of the South and West were in vassal relationship, it is true, to the kings of Ḫatti; but the records are those of frequent rebellion and punitive expeditions followed by the reinforcement of treaties and the definition of boundaries.[1] These areas then were Hittite only in the imperial sense in which we employ the term. As for the North-west, we have already seen that the pronounced and continuous nature of the physical barrier on that side, and the historical indications, place it outside the present scope of Hittite studies. It was in fact an area largely given over to primeval forest.

It results from these considerations that those portions of the peninsula which formed the domain of Ḫatti and its neighbours, and thus belonged to the central group of Hittite states, were generally speaking coterminous with the plateau itself, and circumscribed in the same way by the inner circuit of the enclosing mountains. If we make an exception as regards the coastlands immediately adjoining the capital to the North-east, it is because on that side as we have seen there is no definite barrier of mountain or river. Unhappily we are still in obscurity as to the nature of the relations between Ḫatti and that part of the coast, since the documents that may tell the story are as yet a matter of specialist discussion, and no definitely Ḫattic monuments have been found within that area, except those in the immediate vicinity of the capital. But the seaport of SINOPE was familiar to Ḫattic scribes; the harbour is one of the best on that part of the coast, and though the direct route to it from *ḪATTUSAS* was difficult if not impracticable it may be reached with relative ease by way of Amasia and Samsun.[2] Its established use in post-Hittite times is in any case historic. There is, moreover, direct indication of close relations between Ḫatti and the neighbouring parts of PONTUS in the nature of the rites long perpetuated at the shrines of ZELA and COMANA, which conform with those surviving in other Hittite sites. It is known also that early seats of kings existed in the nearer parts of PONTUS, some dating archaeologically from the period of Ḫattic ascendancy, and in view of the physical proximity and conditions we have described, it would be unreasonable to suppose that they flourished in isolation while more distant areas were being absorbed. Consequently, we must make an exception of this part of the coastlands and be prepared to include it definitely within the circle of Hittite neighbours, if not within the immediate territory of Ḫatti.

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[1] *E.g.* the expeditions of Mursil II. in the first and second years of his reign, also the submissions (Hrozný, 3 *Bo. Stu.*, No. 6, pp. 201 ff.) and the subsequent treaties.

[2] In the Middle Ages Sinub was attached to the empire of Trebizond. See further what is said below on this subject, ch. iv. p. 74.

With the possible exception then of this Pontic area, we may omit the coastlands for the time being in seeking to define the central Hittite states. For reasons already stated these territories are not readily to be distinguished in the documents that have been transcribed, and again we must turn to the physical features as our guide.

Though no pronounced ranges cross the plateau that might suggest natural boundaries of these Hittite states, yet special character is lent to various districts by peculiarities of the river systems. We have seen that in the North the upper reaches and tributaries of the HALYS and the SANGARIUS give life to two extensive regions upon the plateau itself. In the South, on the contrary, there is no such feature: the numerous short streams drain into series of inland lakes and swamps. The areas so watered divide themselves readily into two groups, one being that which lies around the small lake Ak Geul at the foot of Taurus, between the Kara Dagh and the Ak Dagh, and the other the extensive lakeland of the South-west, which for our immediate purpose may be taken as a whole. In the heart of the plateau between the districts so defined, there lies a waste area of salt lake and marsh of variable extent and almost devoid of interest. Thus in broad outline the central tableland can be conveniently divided for descriptive purposes into four main regions, not counting the salt plain in the centre.

Briefly these regions may be described as follows :—

(*a*) North-east : Basins of the HALYS and Upper IRIS.
(*b*) North-west : the upper Basin of the SANGARIUS.
(*c*) South-west : the vicinity of the Pisidian lakes.
(*d*) South-east : the Basin of the lake Ak Geul.

These areas may be readily mapped out; it is only necessary to trace the secondary watersheds that separate them from one another. The result is encouraging; for this simple process of merely enclosing the various water systems defines a number of areas which correspond closely with the grouping and character of the monuments. We feel then on safe ground in adopting the divisions outlined as the basis for our further examination of the country and its monuments. The first of these areas contains the Land of Ḫatti, as nearly as that can be defined. It includes the valley of the Red River itself, which forms for some way a political landmark, and the lands watered by its main tributary the Delije Irmak or CAPPADOX, upon the sources of which stood the City of Ḫatti. For reasons already discussed, we cannot dissociate the adjacent portions of the basin of the IRIS, which link in their turn with the coast. The special importance of this north-eastern area leads us to devote the next chapter to its features and communications, with a view to explaining also the strategic position of the capital itself.

THE NORTH-WESTERN REGION is essentially that of PHRYGIA. Bounded on the East by the water-parting between the SANGARIUS and the HALYS, on the North and West by the mountain chains as far as DINDYMUS, and on the South by the borders of the central and south-western lakes,[1] it comprises all the lands watered by the upper SANGARIUS and its numerous affluents. The most extensive of these are the Pursuk Chai in the West, the Ak Chai (really a source of the main stream, the Sakaria Irmak) in the South and centre, and the Enguri Su in the East. These unite before finally breaking through the northern range at the foot of the Mahalich Dagh. The upland areas to which they give life are among the most attractive parts of Asia Minor. Though some tracts are rocky and others are neglected, a visit to this district leaves the impression of green pastures and clear rivers, with glowing sun and ripening meadows. Pine trees abound, and the bracing air is filled with their delicious scent.

The most important town to-day within this region is

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[1] In particular the watershed from the Murad Dagh eastward to the Emir Dagh and thence on the northern edge of the central desert steppe by Kozante to Pasha Dagh. See the map on p. 54.

ANGORA : THE ACROPOLIS.

Angora (Cl. ANCYRA), strikingly placed upon a hill crowned by an old fortress which overlooks a ravine with precipitous sides. It is situated among the headwaters of the Enguri Su and only a few miles separate it from the watershed of the HALYS and the bed of that river. Here in sheltered spots are extensive gardens, and in the immediate neighbourhood are numerous orchards and vineyards. The place has long been famous for its mohair fabrics, and the Angora goat which provides the wool is historic. There is also a rich produce of fruit, chiefly pears and apples, and of honey. Under modern conditions the main roads of the plateau converge upon Angora, and through it passes the high-road connecting Constantinople with the East by way of Yuzgad and the bridge at Chesme Keupri. As the road and trade centre of the western peninsula, Angora was well chosen as a site of the modern capital of Turkey ; and it is interesting to reflect that from the days when the Hittite capital was stationed at Boghaz-Keui no deliberate effort has been made to rule and organise the country from within until to-day, after an interval of 3000 years. It is instructive to compare the situation of the two capitals. That of the Hittites is found where Nature afforded it protection and strategical advantage as regards the south-eastern frontier : but the problems of modern Turkish administration to-day are of necessity concerned more intimately with the European aspect.

The railway which now crosses the plateau from Constantinople bifurcates at Eskishehr ; the one branch follows up the valley of the Pursuk until it gains that of the Enguri Su and so reaches Angora. The second branch after passing by Afium Karahissar, where it is joined by a line from Smyrna, follows the valley of the Akar Chai (the inland CAYSTER) past the lakes of Akshehr and of Ilgîn on its way to Konia. The course of these railways indicates evidently the easiest lines of communication, and indeed the branch to Konia follows along its route an established line of road.

In the time of Herodotus[1] the country of PHRYGIA extended as far eastward as Angora and the HALYS River itself. The Phrygian monuments, the most striking remains of antiquity in the region, and the ruins of the Phrygian metropolis, are found further west, in the central area, upon the high ground between the sources of the Pursuk and the Akar Chai. These monuments we have already mentioned, and noted their clear relation in art to Hittite work.[1] Though to-day no great towns other than Angora stand within this area, in classical times it claimed a number of prosperous cities, among which there may be noted, particularly, in the eastern district GORDIUM, in the centre PESSINUS and AMORIUM, and in the west DORYLAEUM. Ancient roads connected these places with one another, but without excavation it is impossible to gauge their antiquity. Hittite monuments have been observed at Giaour Kalesi,[2] Yarre, Doghanlu Daressi and Bey Keui. These, as has already been suggested, seem to indicate a single line of road, that which led from the Hittite capital towards the West. This road, like the railway to-day and the royal road of Persian times, crossed the watershed at the southern foot of DINDYMUS and descended the valley of the HERMUS. Its traces are visible here and there as deep ruts scoured in the rock by the wheels of carts and chariots. Apart from the suggestion of these monuments and those of the Phrygian civilisation, there is no present indication as to the position of Hittite cities or of any cities within this area during the Hittite rule. This is due not so much to the lack of documents as to the profound changes which have swept over this area, the result of repeated invasion and settlement, like those of the Phrygians and the Galatians. These movements not only re-peopled the country, but gave rise to new economical and political conditions, so that the old order has changed here more profoundly than elsewhere. No names of Hittite cities seem to have survived, either in the classical forms or in the modern names which elsewhere tend to re-emerge in their more ancient guise. The devastation of the region under the Byzantine Wars at the hand of the Turks completed the accumulation of difficulties which leaves us to-day without any ready means of elucidating the Hittite geographical documents relating to this area;

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[1] Herod., i. 72. But cf. Homer, *Iliad*, iii. 187 and xvi. 719.

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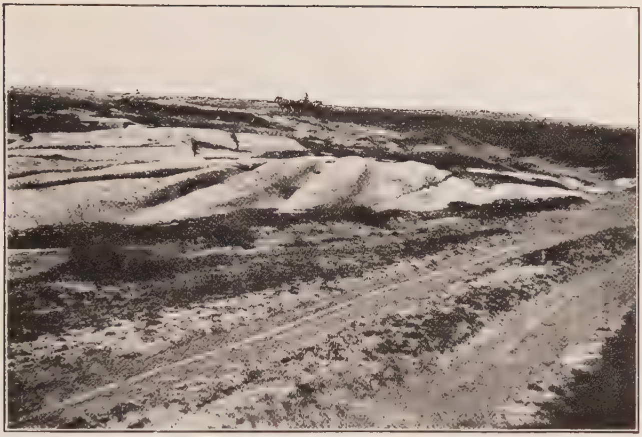
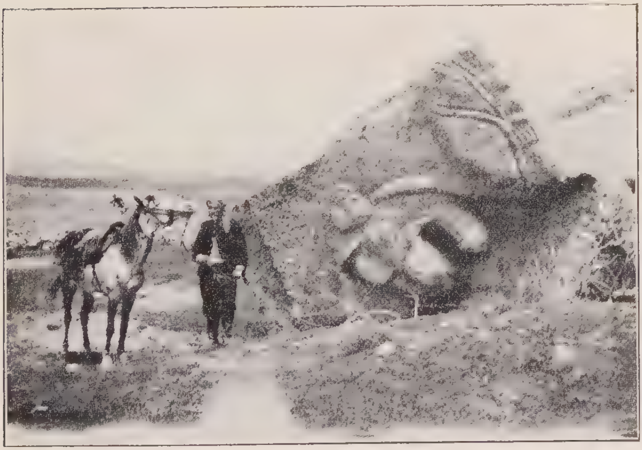
[1] P. 16.

[2] A route no longer of importance but dating probably from Phrygian times at least, connects Angora with Giaour Kalesi, some thirty miles south-west. Cf. Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 31, and *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, xv. pp. 100, 112; also Crowfoot, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xix. p. 50, and Anderson, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xix. p. 95.



BEY-KEUI: THE ROYAL ROAD TRACED BY RUTS IN THE SURFACE ROCK.

See p. 173.



DIMERLI: A FALLEN LION.

See p. 16.

MONUMENTS OF PHRYGIA.

or of estimating in more than a general way the rôle it played in the Hittite organisation.

THE SOUTH-WESTERN REGION of the plateau comprises the area between the central plains and the great Pisidian lakes. The land is much broken by ranges and hills of medium height, the slopes of which are for the most part rough and unsuitable for cultivation. By contrast, the many small rivers which flow to the several lakes render some parts of the country extremely fertile; and it is well peopled with numerous small villages. Many of the valleys produce fruits in abundance. The edges of the plain are grasslands, and the agricultural area offers more varied possibilities than either of the northern regions. But the problem of marshes and rough ground requires engineering, which has not been assured since the days of Roman organisation. As in the North, there is now only one great town, Konia itself, upon which the modern roads and tracks converge.

Under the Persian and Roman organisation many towns prospered in this area, but few of them have preserved in their names any trace of the ancient Hittite forms. Konia itself, the classical ICONIUM, appears transparently in the Hittite texts as *KUWANNA*,[1] but not much is told us except the mention of the name. Fifteen miles to the North-west was CABALLA, and this is the one name that possibly survives intact from Hittite days; for its position seems to agree with that of *ḪABALLA*, which was situated apparently on the line of march between the Hittite capital and the Lycian coast.[2] *ḪABALLA* was the chief city of one of the principalities constituting the kingdom of *ARZAWA*. The Hittite monuments of the area are only three in number. Two of these, however, are unique in character and interest: they are found between the Beyshehr lake and CABALLA at Fassiler and Eflatum-Bunar. The third is more typically Hittite and it is found near Ilgîn by the side of a small lake of the same name to the North.[3]

THE SOUTH-EASTERN REGION of the plateau is that which lies at the northern foot of Taurus, bounded on the West by the Kara Dagh, which separates it from the area last considered, and on the East by the Ala Dagh, which divides it in turn from the Anti-Taurus region. To the North is the Hassan Dagh, which separates its water system from that of the central lake. All the waters inside this region flow together by stream and marsh into the small lake Ak Geul. The most important of these is the Kizilja Su, which comes down from Andaval by Nigde and Bor, with TYANA itself upon one of its numerous tributaries. Other streams flow down directly from the range of Taurus, notably from the Ivriz Dagh; while from the West the Sughla Chai drains the Kara Dagh and the neighbouring ridges. As may be inferred, the whole of this area is well watered; the course of the streams is gentle, and though to-day much of the low-lying ground is swampy, and the immediate vicinity of the lake is marsh, on the whole it is fairly fertile, abounding in grass and corn lands,[1] and, at the foot of the mountains, plentiful in fruit gardens and vineyards. It has as at all times given life to prosperous cities, among which TYANA and HYDE seem to date their names from Hittite sources;[2] while other centres, CYBISTRA, BARATA, LARANDA and ILISTRA doubtless had their local importance also in those times.

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[1] Phrygian *Kawania*. Cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 31.

[2] Cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 17; also Hrozný, 3 *Bo. Stu.*, No. 6, iii. 1, 24, etc. See also below, p. 151.

[3] Described below, pp. 151 ff.

The Hittite monuments of the area are relatively numerous, and they afford an interesting series of contrasts. There are the monumental sculptures of Nigde and Bor, the inscription of Bulghar Maden, the rock carving of Ivriz, and a whole distinctive group of rock monuments in the Kara Dagh.[3] The character of these monuments will be found to differ in many respects from those of the capital; and they are equally distinct from those of the South-west. In fact not only do the main water systems of the plateau subdivide the area into districts containing distinct groups of monuments; but a number of these will be found related in some special way to the streams or springs of their several localities. It would seem that the sanctity accorded by the Hittites to their greater rivers was based less upon political considerations than upon a religious reverence for all such manifestations of Nature's bounty.

Between these four areas, and enclosed by them, is the great plain of AXYLON, and the salt lake which lies within it, the Tuz Geul. The average level of the plain is about 3000

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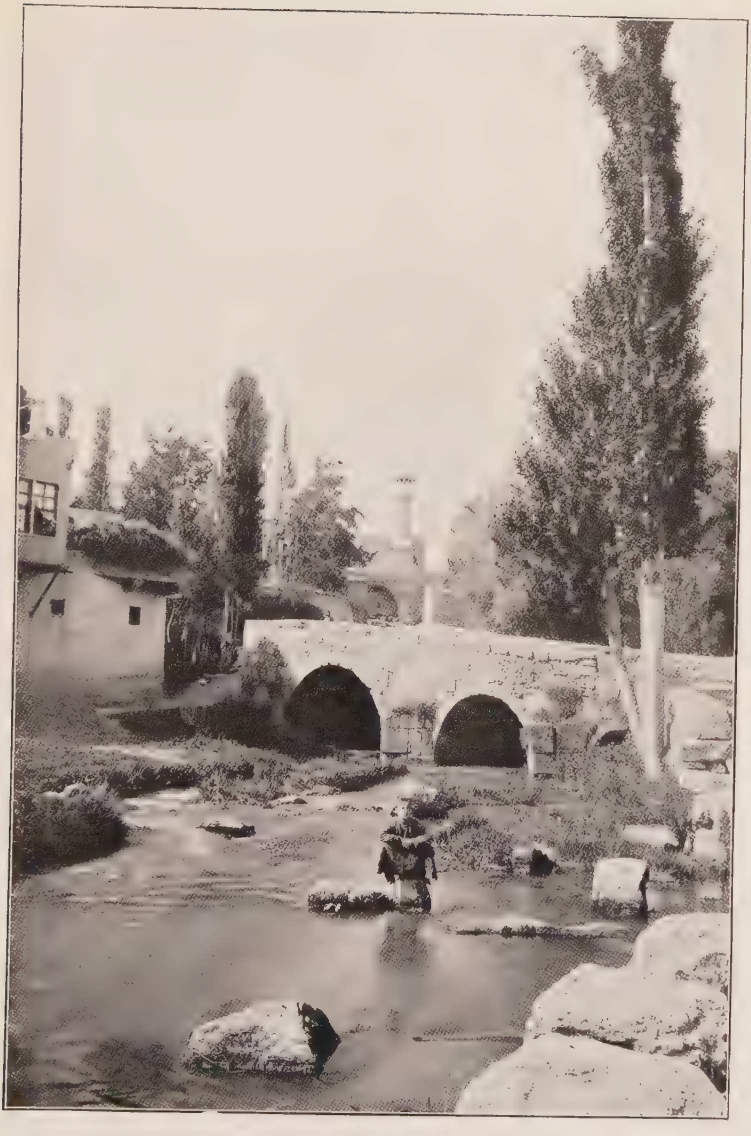
[1] The country around Bor (near TYANA) formed part of the Roman Imperial estate.

[2] *TUWANUWA* (*Index H.N.*, p. 47) and *UDA* (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*).

[3] These are described below, ch. vi. (*d*), pp. 153 ff.



BOR : BRIDGE OVER THE KIZILJA SU.

feet above the sea, it is separated from the valley of the SANGARIUS by a low and somewhat irregular watershed lying between Emir Dagh (4500 feet) and the Pasha Dagh which attains about the same height, though at points along the ridge between these mountains the level is not more than some 500 feet above the plain.[1] On the South-west it reaches almost to Konia and the old site of CABALLA, while to the South-east it is bounded by Karaja-Dagh and the chain of isolated hills which connect with the Kara Dagh, and so with Taurus. To the North-east its boundary is the watershed of the HALYS, in particular the Kodja Dagh, which separates numerous short tributaries of that river from the waters that help to swell the central lake. The great plain has thus a length of about 120 miles, and it varies greatly in its features. In the vicinity of Konia and CABALLA, reaching to Ilgîn, where it is fed and watered by numerous short streams flowing north-east, it has the character of a grassy steppe suitable for rearing horses, and it has probably always been used for that purpose. Horse fairs are still held in the nearer centres such as Konia, Angora and Yuzgad. The present breed has not any special qualities of blood, but it is hardy, acclimatised to highland conditions, and trained to rock work. The lake itself varies in its extent according to the season of the year. As it has no outlet its waters are increasingly salty, so that the ground which dries from the accumulated waters during the autumn is too sour for cultivation. In this central area there are no great towns, though doubtless Akserai, where main routes intersect, had its equivalent importance in Hittite history. This place marks in fact the site of GARSAURA, a name which seems to date from earliest Hittite times, when the country was still divided among its various tribes.[2]

We have considered in this chapter the main divisions of the plateau as defined by its physical peculiarities. Before proceeding to examine the character of the monuments in the several districts we return to complete our consideration of that region of the North-east which contained the Land of the City of Ḫatti, the central object of our inquiry.

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[1] The positions of the Emir Dagh and Murad Dagh are indicated in our sketch map, p. 54, by the numerals 15 and 16.

[2] Together with *KA.NI.ES* (*KANES*) and *ḪA.AD.TI* (*ḪATTI*); Fo., 2 *Bo.T.U.* No. 3. (V.A.T. 13009.)

CHAPTER IV

THE LAND OF THE CITY OF ḪATTI

Definition of the term. Historical Boundaries. Physical Features. Communications. Connection with Pontus. Strategic Position of the Capital.

Of the four regions into which we have found the plateau to be naturally subdivided, that of the North-east has a particular interest, as comprising the chief city and the original tribal area of Ḫatti. The general aspect of the country is characteristic of many parts of the Anatolian plateau, a land of green slopes, broken by the steep valleys of swift streams, and scarred on every side with outcrops of bare limestone rock, which occasionally rise up as giant crags. Numerous small villages nestle on these hillsides by the sources of the streams, for the land is fertile though difficult to work, and the native seems to prefer the uplands. A favoured area lies to the south-west of the capital in the middle basin of the Delije Irmak (Cappadox) where the stream is gentle and may be used to water its wide alluvial banks. Yet the settled population is small, and indeed previous to the establishment of the Turkish Government at Angora, wide pastures and arable acres remained neglected, or had become the resort of Turkomans, Yuruks and other nomads. Doubtless when the capital was situated in the middle of this attractive country, fuller use was made of its natural advantages. Numerous signs of ancient settlement have been observed,[1] but excavation has still to show to what extent the area was developed in Hittite times and shared in the general prosperity. This district, together with the northern valleys in the vicinity of Boghaz-Keui, would seem to form naturally the original territory of Ḫatti, with the Halys as its enclosing boundary on three

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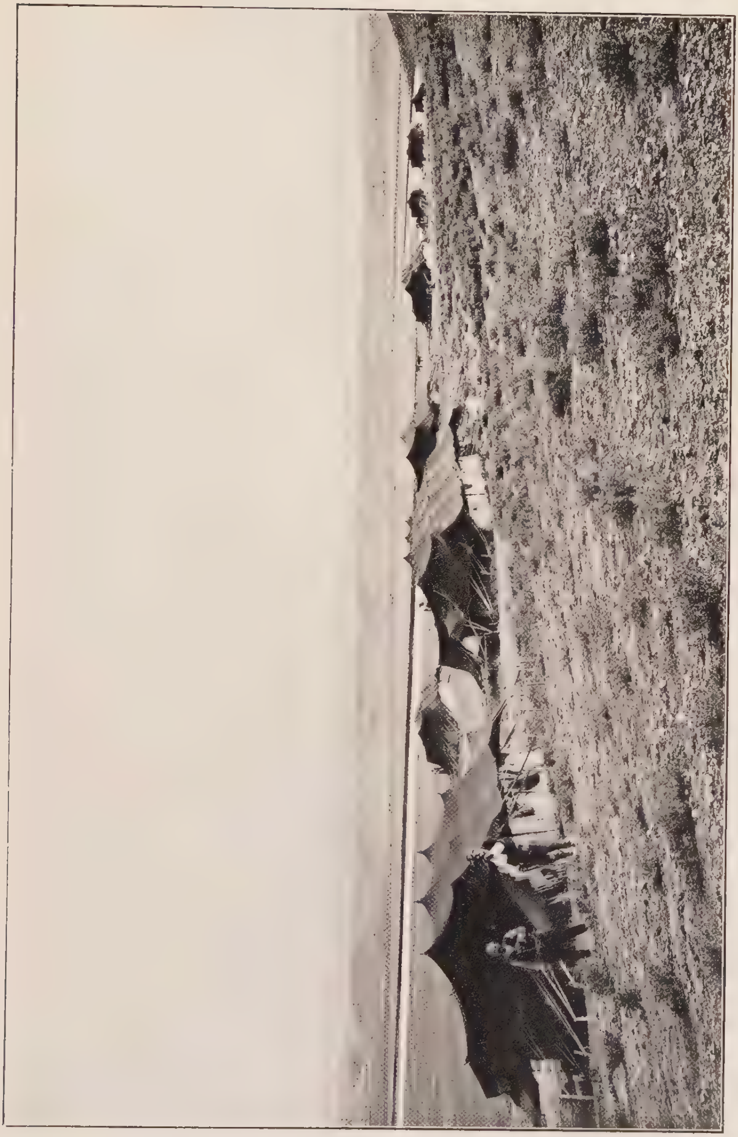
[1] We have noticed more than a hundred ancient mounds between Boghaz-Keui and the Cilician gates. So, too, Von der Osten, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.

To face p. 66. PLATE XV



THE DELIJE IRMAK (CAPPADOX FL.): NOMAD ENCAMPMENT AT YENI-HAN, NEAR SEKKELI.

sides.[1] Yet we have found that the HALYS, though a conspicuous landmark, and on the North-west a historic frontier, formed only a partial boundary to the South ; while on the other hand, to the North-east and East, there was no barrier to communication with the basin of the IRIS and the Pontic coast. The precise boundaries of the Land of Ḫatti at any one epoch are then difficult to determine. The local place-names shed no light as yet upon the problem ; and a measure of complication is introduced into our inquiry at the outset by a certain ambiguity in the expression the 'Land of the City of Ḫatti' by which the territory of Ḫatti is indicated in the texts. It will be well to examine first the varying use and meaning of this term, which obviously developed with the expansion of Ḫatti a wider connotation than the original domain of the city-state or tribal area. It is found also to be used in a political sense that had not a strictly territorial foundation, as indicating the area ruled by the Hittite king. It was applied particularly to adjoining lands that had been absorbed by the expansion of the central state, but also more widely in an almost imperial sense, involving the territories of vassals, even those in the remotest parts of the plateau, especially those that remained loyal in contradistinction to areas in revolt. In other words the area of the king's protective or suzerain rights was indicated briefly by this essentially geographical expression, almost as one might say now the United Kingdom, or the Dominions.

A comparison of the varying uses of this term, the 'Land of the City,' gives at the same time a helpful insight into the course of political development. Its original connotation can be illustrated most simply from its application to neighbouring states, wherein the imperial extension of its meaning does not arise. Thus the land of *GASGA*, in the lands of Armenia Minor to the East,[2] remained to the end a group or confederacy of city-states, called officially the 'Land of the Town of *GASGA*' ; and though a town of that name seems occasionally to be indicated, two other towns (named

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[1] This agrees generally with the indications in the earliest references to Asia Minor while still divided among the tribes, in the age of Naram Sin, where Ḫatti appears among a list of other Anatolian areas, *BURUSḪANDA* (? BOROSA), *KANES* (Kara Eyuk), *KURSAURA* (GARSAURA), etc. Fo., 2 *Bo.T.U.* 3, p. 2 (V.A.T. 13009).

[2] Between the Tochma Su and the HALYS, to the west of the Euphrates.

Ḫalilas and *Dudusgas*) appear to have been the home of its most influential leaders at a certain time.[1] Even when brought into more immediate control, and ruled by a prince of the Ḫattic Royal House, who was styled Prince of *Gasga* but had also a function and title at the Ḫattic Court, the territory still bore its original name the 'Land of the Town of *Gasga*.'

A more developed though contemporary stage is found in the organisation of the powerful kingdom of *Arzawa* on the southern coast. This comprised several principalities, among which *Ḫaballa*, *Mira* and *Uilusa* are mentioned as having their own kings, in addition to *Arzawa* proper.[2] The whole was called the 'Land of the Town of *Arzawa*,'[3] though it may be suspected that in this case also the original seat of power had lost its pre-eminence.

Each of these component states, like that of *Gasga*, had doubtless grown around the chief town from which it derived its name; and each was subject upon terms which are not explained, but had clearly a military basis, to the King of *Arzawa*, who in turn owed allegiance and specified military service to the kings of Ḫatti. Rebellion brought about the disruption of this combination; some of the component kingdoms were dismembered and the several kinglets became direct fiefs of the Ḫattic throne. Treaties defined anew the respective boundaries of these states, which were described as before the 'Land of the Town *Ḫaballa*,' or '*Mira*,' or '*Uilusa*' as the case might be.[4] But the adjacent territory outside their borders was described as the 'Land of Ḫatti,' though far distant from the central area of the capital and hence probably ruled in like manner by a local prince.[5]

It is, then, clear that when the Ḫattic power was at its height, as under their empire-builders of the fourteenth century, not only were the principalities of the southern coastlands bound to the central throne by feudal ties, but the states of the plateau, whatever the nature of their constitution, were so far welded together that they were regarded as integral portions of the land of Ḫatti, forming in effect a Ḫattic kingdom, or confederacy of kindred states, within the larger area of the Ḫattic Empire of the day. This distinction seems to conform with contemporary Egyptian references to 'Great Kheta' which presumably connoted the whole Hittite group, and 'Kheta,' which indicated the central state.[1] But while the names and territory of a number of the outlying allied states are known and copies of their treaties with Ḫatti are preserved, there is no direct light upon the political organisation or boundaries of the inner Hittite group. Their individuality is submerged in the imperial documents by the domination of Ḫatti. It can only be inferred, from glimpses of their relations with the neighbourlands and the processes at work in those areas, that the expansion of Ḫattic power had led in similar fashion to the gradual political absorption of the smaller kingdoms, which, like Ḫatti itself, had tended to form around original city states. But the precise position of these, and their boundaries, must remain problematical so far as the documents are concerned until the place-names can be reliably identified and the sites located.

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[1] *Temp.* Mursil (*c.* 1360 B.C.), *Annals*; Hrozný, *Heth. Keilschr.*, pp. 173 ff.

[2] Fo., *M.D.O.G.* 63, p. 4.

[3] Hrozný, 3 *Bo. Stu.*, No. 6, etc.

[4] Cf. also 4 *K.Bo.* No. 5, l. 4.

[5] This applies in effect mostly to territories on the plateau nearer to the capital, but in one case, that of *Mira* and *Kuwalia*, if rightly placed in Lycia, seems to have applied to an external border-land, on the side of Caria. Kuwalia (Cabalia) is distinct from Ḫaballa, cf. pp. 63, 180.

With these considerations in mind, we turn for further guidance to consider the position and character of the monuments and the physical landmarks of the surrounding area. The traces of Hittite work in the valley of the Halys itself have already been indicated,[2] and they will presently be described. They will be found lacking in those characteristics which for the present we must regard to be distinctive of Ḫattic art, as determined by the sculptures of the capital itself. None the less, some of them may prove to have been contemporaneous: they are readily accessible from that centre by the road systems of the area, and they are placed suggestively near the fords of the Halys to the South.

Nowadays, Boghaz-Keui has been replaced as the active road-centre of the district by the neighbouring town of

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[1] It is significant that in the several lists of Hittite allies derived from contemporary Egyptian sources, while numerous outlying states within the confederacy are mentioned by name, no separate mention is made of any state that can be recognised as situated upon the central plateau. All these seem to be included in the one name Kheta (*i.e.* Ḫatti).

[2] Pp. 49-50; see also below, ch. vi.

Yuzgad, which also, like the former capital, stands on one of the sources of the Delije Irmak, pleasantly situated in a cup-like hollow of the hillside. From here routes now radiate eastward to Sivas, south-east by the Chok-Geuz bridge to Kaisariyeh, south-west to the fords of the HALYS at Kesik Keupri,[1] and westward to the historic bridge at Chesme Keupri, as well as more directly towards Angora by the crossing at Yaksi Han. The distance of Boghaz-Keui from Yuzgad is less than twenty miles, and the two places are still connected by a road which leads on north-eastwards to Sungurlu. The other roads which in Hittite times doubtless converged upon the capital itself have fallen largely into disuse, but they are still traceable whether as tracks or as isolated strips of road without modern objective. The fact is that at least two changes of system based on different political and economic conditions have supervened since the far-off days when the main roads radiated from *ḪATTUSAS*. Indeed, it often appears that a modern bridle track more probably represents the ancient and natural route than the engineered road of Roman origin. The classical road which once led from PTERIA south-west to TAVIUM (Nefez Keui) is no longer in general use, though it may be traced; and the line was probably ancient as there is a natural track from Boghaz-Keui over the divide to Nefez-Keui.[2] Thence a track leads west of south by Kirshehr and crosses the HALYS at Kesik Keupri on its way towards NYSSA which is marked by the mound Bazirgyan Eyuk. Between the Delije Irmak and Kirshehr this road throws off a branch to Chesme Keupri by a detour south of the Chichek Dagh, passing by the ruins of Ich Ayak.

The main road towards the West by that historic ford must have passed however by Nefez Keui. Thence, at first due westward and then a little south, its line is still preserved partly as a bridle track and later as a road, probably the royal road that linked Susa with Sardis under the Persian organisation.[3] Beyond the Delije Irmak, which is crossed near Cherekli in either case, two ways are possible, both skirting the Denek Dagh. The one keeps to the North past the minefields of Denek Maden, with an alternative direct on the ford of Yaksi Han to Angora. The other bends southwards, up the valley of the Kilij Euzu, and so by an easy pass, the Ide Bel, to the fords of Chesme. The former way is somewhat shorter, but on the latter the grades are lighter, and it has been maintained for wheel traffic in modern times.

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[1] That which communicated more directly with TYANA by the fords of Bogshe or Avanos survives only in local tracks, though south of the river its traces are distinct. Cf. *L.H.*, pp. 24, 199.

[2] For the remains, see *L.H.*, pp. 30-2. There is a note on the ancient road lines in Von der Osten, *Explor.*, p. 64, with a photograph, fig. 69.

[3] Cf. p. 62 and Pl. XI.; also below, p. 173.

The only cart-road through Boghaz-Keui to-day is that from Yuzgad north-west, which at first follows up the source of the brook Killi and then descends from Boghaz-Keui to Sungurlu by the valley of the Budak Su. The continuation beyond Sungurlu is not so clear. The modern track pursues a north-westerly direction and, adapting itself to an older system, returns to a bridge over the Delije Irmak just above Kara Eyuk. The older line seems to be preserved in a section between Kara Eyuk down the right bank of the Delije Irmak as far as its junction with the HALYS at Kula, where it is lost.[1] It passes by the ruins of an ancient fortress and a considerable group of tumuli. Another road due west probably descended the Budak Valley, crossing the Delije Irmak opposite Bozkeui, following the course of a track now disused which reappears plainly on Kutshu Bel. This road, also, possibly marks an ancient line of communication with Angora by a ford of the HALYS near Kalejik, below the Yaksi Han.[2]

Northwards a well-defined track winds over the somewhat barren uplands to the village of Eyuk, where are the nearest ruins of a Hittite city. The distance is nearly twenty miles, just east of north, and the watershed is crossed half-way. If ever a Hittite road passed directly north, it must have left Eyuk by the ruins and pass of Karahissar, the latter called Abdal Boghaz, whence north-west over the divide the now discontinuous track by the Inal Euzu leads to a crossing of the HALYS at Karaburun. Thence it climbed to Iskelib, and so northward by Kavak Bel. By this route, passing by Boyabad, the port of SINOPE can be gained ; but the way is arduous, involving three steep descents and climbs of 4000 feet or more. These northern passes are further liable to be blocked with snow for a considerable portion of the year.[1]

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[1] Near this point ‘there are the remains of a large ancient settlement. Parts of the foundations are still to be seen. . . . Pottery collected there showed also a large percentage of Hittite specimens.’—Von der Osten, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[2] For the local road routes, see the map facing p. 69.

The natural outlet from *ḪATTUSAS* and Eyuk passed east of north, by Hatal-Boghazi and the modern track down the Bozbogha Su to Chorum, whence there is a cart-track directly east by the valley of the Varaikazi Chai to Amasia. Near the approaches to the town, a bridge now spans the Chekerek at a point where there is also a ford. This approach to Amasia is now shortened by a cart-track from Alaja over the Kara Dagh and across the valley of Chorum Su (which it crosses below Berenjik) to Hajji Keui, where the former route is rejoined. Though the Hittite origin of this road is not attested by any recognised monuments, the presence of numerous caves and tombs along its course suggests an antiquity for the route which only can be determined by excavation. To Alaja also there is a direct track from Boghaz-Keui.

A third route, somewhat to the South, and partly utilised in Roman times, probably already connected *ḪATTUSAS* directly with the site of GAZIURA at Turkhal and so with *KUMANI* (COMANA) at Geumenek. Leaving Boghaz-Keui in a south-westerly direction, it skirted the foot of Yalipunar Dagh to the South down the valley of the stream named Egri as far as Geune. Then resuming its course north-west, it crossed the intervening high ground, which attains more than 4000 feet, and so gained the basin of the Chekerek. After traversing the river it left the valley by easy grades and crossed a secondary divide directly on to Zile (ZELA), whence a small stream provided a direct descent to the IRIS near GAZIURA.

The communications of *ḪATTUSAS* with the valley of the IRIS were thus relatively good, opening a natural way to the Black Sea coast. By contrast with the gorges of the HALYS, which no road can follow, the valley of the IRIS lies invitingly broad and open, providing with its tributaries, including the

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[1] That from Ineboli by Kastamuni rises over 5000 ft. ; that from Sinub 4000 ft. ; while that further east from Trebizond towards the interior attains 6000 feet, and maintains a high level on its way over the main watershed to Erzerum.

Lycus and its affluents, numerous route-links between the north-east of the plateau and the coastal region. Through the whole chain of northern mountains there is, in fact, no opening more favourable for communication than that by way of Amasia, which must accordingly early have become an important centre. It is described by Strabo as both city and fortress. Perched on a high rock surrounded by fortifications, in a broad valley at the focus of numerous roads, it would seem to have been designed by nature as the strategic centre of the Pontic region. But its name has not yet been recognised in the Hittite archives. Not only did the old city of Amasia command the natural route from *Ḫattusas* to the coast, and the north-eastern roads, but the valley itself was broad and fertile and must early have attracted settlers. Many ruined fortresses in the vicinity told already in the time of Strabo of a long and momentous history. Kizari, near the lake Stiphane, was a 'Royal Seat in Ruins.'[1] Gaziura also had been an ancient seat of kings, and potsherds found on its site,[2] dating probably from Hittite times, attest its great antiquity; but when Strabo wrote it was already in ruins.[3]

It would appear indeed that not only was the valley of the Iris in close contact with the central Ḫattic area, but that the old-world cities that arose in favoured spots along its course trace their origin to Hittite times and their culture to Hittite influence. The famous shrines of Comana and Zela perpetuated religious cults and rites which were essentially the same as those found surviving in other undoubted Hittite centres of worship, like the Cataonian Comana, where the leading goddess is found possessed of all the essential attributes of the chief Hittite deity, the Sun-goddess of *Arinna*.[4] In this connection the association of the Thermodon with the Amazons in legend cannot be overlooked,[5] and this river falls to the Black Sea just eastward from the lower course of the Iris itself. Exploration of sites like Phazimon (Vezir Keupri) and Dazimon

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[1] Strabo, xii. iii. 38, etc.

[2] Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, p. 71.

[3] Strabo, xii. iii. 15: the name appears as *GAS.SI.U.RA.AS* in the Hittite texts (3 *K.Bo.* 6, l. 7, and cf. Hrozný, *Bo. Stu.*, p. 46).

[4] *Liv. A.A.*, vi. 1914, 3, p. 115: *The Sun-Goddess of Arinna.*

[5] On the connection of the Thermodon and Themiscyra with the Amazons, see Strabo (xii. iii. 9) who quotes Pindar. Cf. further, *Annual of the B.S.A.*, xxii. p. 2.

(Tokat), though only superficial as yet, tends to the same conclusion;[1] and this is supplemented by the discovery near Samsun at Akalan, where alone a small excavation has been made, of a large quantity of recognisably Hittite pottery.[2]

While the stirring history of PONTUS and the striking character of its remains tempt us to linger in this area, yet in the absence of distinctive Hittite monuments the special importance of this district lies in its natural communications with the coastal ports of Samsun (AMISUS) and Sinub (SINOPE). From Amasia to Samsun there are two ways around the Ak Dagh (6500 feet) which rises prominently to the North. The passes are relatively low, about 2500 feet, and the grade of the subsequent descent towards the coast is easy. Samsun is, however, an open roadstead; the harbour is not well sheltered, and the anchorage is safe only in the summer months.[3] It would appear then, indeed, not favourable for early relations by sea, nor does its name appear in the Hittite lists. Its communications with Sinub are, however, direct and easy, whether by land where the crossing of the HALYS near Bafra presents no difficulty, or along the shore by boat.

SINOPE appears in the Hittite catalogue spelt *SINUWA*;[4] and its antiquity as a port is not doubtful. Passages in Herodotus and Strabo indicate that it had been long the most important trade centre along the coast,[5] upon which it claimed the most favourable harbour.[6] Whether it was in more direct communication with the Hittite capital is doubtful. If approached by Amasia and Boyabad, the HALYS must have been bridged or crossed by ferry at Cheltek, where its waters are usually deep and rapid ; and if a bridge had existed it would presumably not have escaped mention by Herodotus. Assuming, however, that the river could be crossed, the road after leaving the valley becomes increasingly difficult : the grades are steep and the route is both tortuous and rocky. It is then not probable that the transport of red earth, the subject of Strabo's narrative,[1] could have developed along a road of this kind. It is true that there is an alternative way from the river crossing, by its own valley and that of its affluent the Geuk Irmak, to Boyabad, and so over the pass by Karanti Keui. But the detour is as long as that by Samsun and the route is not so easy. Some hold that the Hittites must have made use of the more direct route which we have already traced from the capital to Boyabad.[2] But this is incomparably more difficult, and quite unfavourable for the transport of heavy loads of soil.[3] It is significant that SINOPE to-day has no trade communications with the interior ; and it is not probable that either of the hill routes last mentioned was employed in Hittite times for any other purpose than military emergency. The natural road from *ḪATTUSAS* to SINOPE lay by way of Amasia and Samsun.

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[1] For further descriptions see Anderson and others, *Studia Pontica*, vol. iii. pp. 71 ff.

[2] Von der Osten, *Explor.* (1927), p. 54.

[3] Cf. *The Black Sea Pilot* (1920), p. 428, with Plate. It would appear that there is an old mole at the north end of the harbour, but its antiquity is doubtful. A photograph of the roadstead appears in Von der Osten, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[4] The digamma becoming β, as often. See Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 22, and p. 312, n. Cf. also *KUWALIA*, CABALIA, p. 46, etc.

[5] Herodotus, i. 76, etc.; Strabo, XII. iii. 11.

[6] The roadstead southward of the Isthmus enjoys a good reputation even in winter, and is the safest anchorage between the Bosphorus and Batum (*The Black Sea Pilot*, p. 432 and Plate). The bottom near the shore is foul with ancient jetties.

It results from the considerations of this chapter, that the valley of the IRIS and the neighbouring parts of PONTUS are inseparably related, together forming our north-eastern region, which contained the homelands of Ḫatti. In the previous chapter we found that while the course of the HALYS River marks a convenient outline to this region, it provided only on the North-west a political boundary and protection. On the other hand, towards the East and South the ways lay relatively open. We are now in a position to apply these conclusions to the position of the capital from the strategic standpoint. It has already been seen the site of *ḪATTUSAS* does not mark precisely the natural route-centre of this area : the roads that converged upon it were directed there by man. Difficult of access, by way of defiles that required to be known to be turned to advantage, commanding the approaches to more favoured lands in several directions, it was essentially the raiders' retreat. Tactically good as a centre for tribal expansion, it possessed none of the advantages which might predetermine the strategical and commercial capital of an empire, such natural facilities of communication for example as are found in the sites of Amaseia, Sebasteia (Sivas), Mazaca, Tyana, and Iconium. A glance at the map will show these very places to form a ring in the centre of which stood the City of Ḫatti. They lay like advanced-posts behind the Asiatic frontier; the routes connecting them provided lateral lines of communication, and the tracks along the ranges completed the scheme. The immediate rivals and dangers lay to the East and South-east beyond

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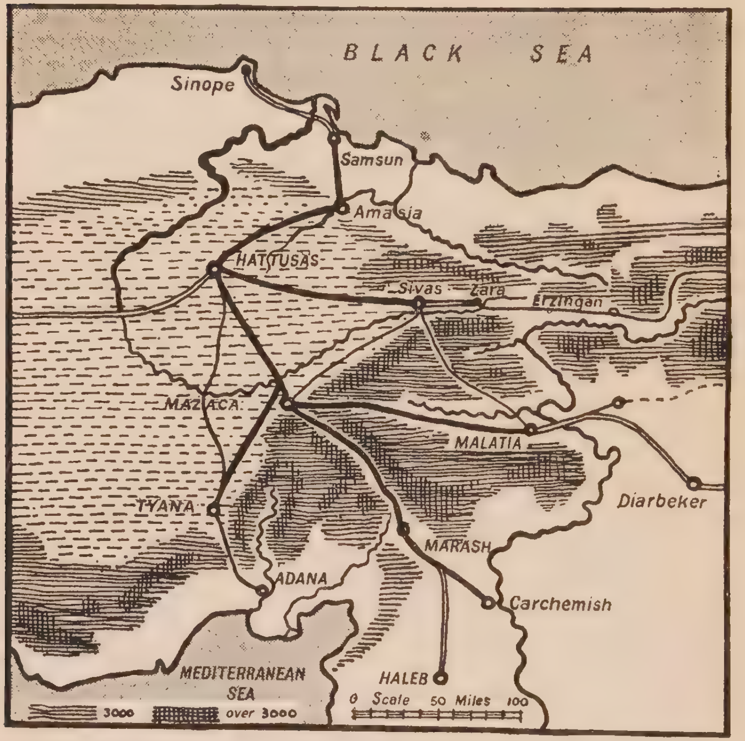
[1] Strabo, XII. ii. 10. Cf. Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 28.

[2] Boghaz-Keui—Abdal Boghaz—Karaburun—Iskelib—Kavak Bel—Boyabad—Sinub. See above, p. 71, and note, p. 72.

[3] According to Sir C. Wilson its difficulties were described by the late Lord Kitchener in the strongest terms.


BLACK SEA
Sinope
Samsun
Amasia
HATTUSAS
Sivas
Zara
Erzingan
MAZACA
MALATIA
Diarbeker
TYANA
MARASH
ADANA
Carchemish
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
HALEB
0 Scale 50 Miles 100
3000
over 3000

The S.E. Frontier of Ḫatti: Strategic Position of Ḫattusas.

the wall of mountains, and it is from this standpoint that the value of the situation of *Ḫattusas* can be appreciated and understood. The original strength of its position lay in its natural defensibility, and this was supplemented in time by walled ramparts; but the secret of its development as an imperial capital lay in the organisation of its radiating communications with the great road centres. No headquarter staff could have devised a more perfect defensive system; history shows how the empire grew and was maintained upon these lines, of which *Ḫattusas*, the City of Ḫatti, was the focus. We pass in the next chapter to its monuments and remains.

CHAPTER V

THE CITY OF ḪATTI

(a) DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY AND ITS REMAINS

Discovery of the Site. The Acropolis: Situation and Defences. Walls and Sculptured Gateways: Question of the Amazons. The Advanced Forts and Lower City. The Lower Palace. Sculptured Blocks. An Earlier Palace excavated: Recovery of Ḫattic Archives. Building Period and Possible Dates.

THE city has long been known. Early in the last century it attracted the attention of explorers from the imposing nature of its ruins and the peculiar interest of its sculptures. Texier, Hamilton, Perrot and Chipiez have given reliable and full descriptions of its visible remains. As the most important city within the HALYS loop, it seems clearly to be identified with PTERIA (or PTARA) which, according to Herodotus,[1] fell about 550 B.C. before Croesus of LYDIA, who found it in possession of a 'Syro-Cappadocian' population. From a study of the pre-Hellenic systems of Asia Minor, which converged upon it, Ramsay argued that it marked the former administrative centre of an organised area;[2] and Professor Sayce came to the conclusion that the empire so indicated was that of the Hittites.[3] This view has been supported by all subsequent discoveries.

The association of its remains with the Hittites was indicated in a general way by an obscure hieroglyphic inscription on the rock called Nishan Tash,[4] and more particularly

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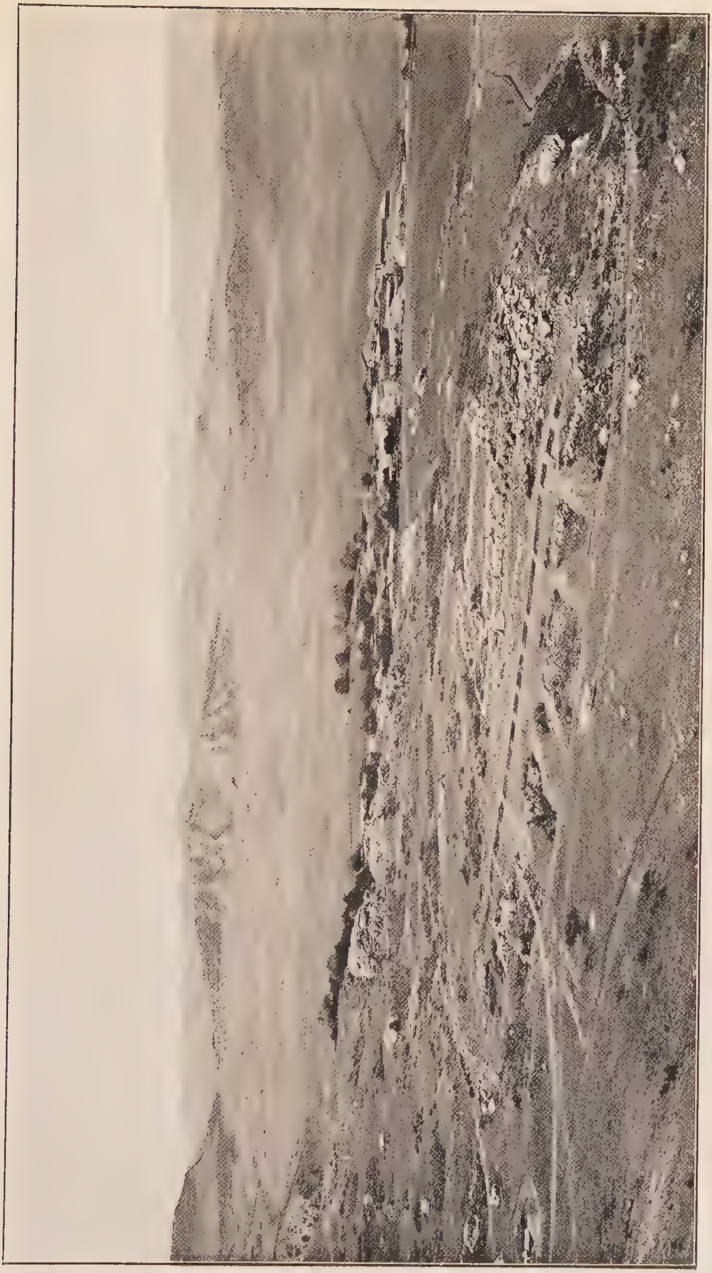
[1] Herodotus, i. 76. Cf. Strabo, XII. iii. 9.

[2] Ramsay, *H.G.*, pp. 28, 29. Cf. Herodotus, v. 52.

[3] Sayce, *The Story of a Forgotten Empire* (1888).

[4] This monument lies between the two fortresses of Beuyuk and Yenije Kaleh, where the surface of a rock facing to the South has been smoothed for a space about twenty feet by ten, and carved with a design or series of hieroglyphs arranged in separate lines. Some hieroglyphs were visible when M. Perrot took his photographs, but owing to the weathered state of the rock, it is now difficult to distinguish the signs except under favourable conditions of light. The Cornell expedition of

PLATE XVI



BOGHAZ-KEUI, THE MODERN VILLAGE; WITH THE LOWER PALACE OF ḪATTUSAS IN THE FOREGROUND.

by the clear hieroglyphs which name the exalted personages represented in the neighbouring shrine called Iasily Kaya. Then in 1906, Dr. Hugo Winckler, at the outset of his excavations,[1] discovered at the foot of the acropolis two building blocks decorated with sculptures and hieroglyphs in the familiar Hittite style;[2] and finally riveted the links of evidence by discovering in the ruins of an early palace and elsewhere upon the site numerous tablets of brick inscribed in cuneiform characters. These proved to be documents from the libraries and archives of the later Ḫattic kings, including fragments of diplomatic correspondence with the Pharaohs of Egypt and other Oriental monarchs in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.

It seems clear, then, that for several centuries at least this ancient city was the centre of the Hittite Empire; and, indeed, it is identified in a general way with *ḪATTUSAS*, where the founders of the Ḫattic dominion established their capital about the close of the third millennium B.C.[3] Its ruins are not only the most imposing of all the pre-Hellenic monuments of Asia Minor, but they are also the most instructive; while the sculptures of the sanctuary provide a unique illustration of Hittite art and religious symbolism. The place forms the obvious starting-point for our study of the Hittite monuments.

Its general situation has been already indicated.[4] More precisely it is placed at a point on a low divide where rise two sources of the Kara Budak Su, a small stream which flows northward and westward to join the Delije Irmak (the CAPPADOX) the chief tributary of the HALYS itself. At this

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1907 secured, however, a series of squeezes from which they reproduce an excellent copy of the inscription so far as this is preserved (cf. Olmstead, Charles, and Wrench, *Travels and Studies in the Nearer East*, Ithaca, 1911, Pl. III.). In the top row appears the *naiskos* under the winged disc, such as distinguishes the priest king in the sculptures of the sanctuary described hereafter.

[1] On behalf of the German Orient Society in 1907-8; the first results were published in a brief but epoch-making monograph in the *Mitt. d. Deut. Orient. Ges.*, Dec. 1907, No. 35, and later Otto Puchstein gave a more complete account of the architectural remains, *Boghasköi: Die Bauwerke* (Leipzig, 1912). The full bibliography is given by M. Contenau in his *Éléments de Bibliographie Hittite* (Paris, 1922 and 1927).

[2] Fig. 5, p. 92, and p. 93.

[3] Above, p. 2. The precise local distinction, if any, between Ḫattusas and the City of Ḫatti is not clear.

[4] Pp. 47, 77.

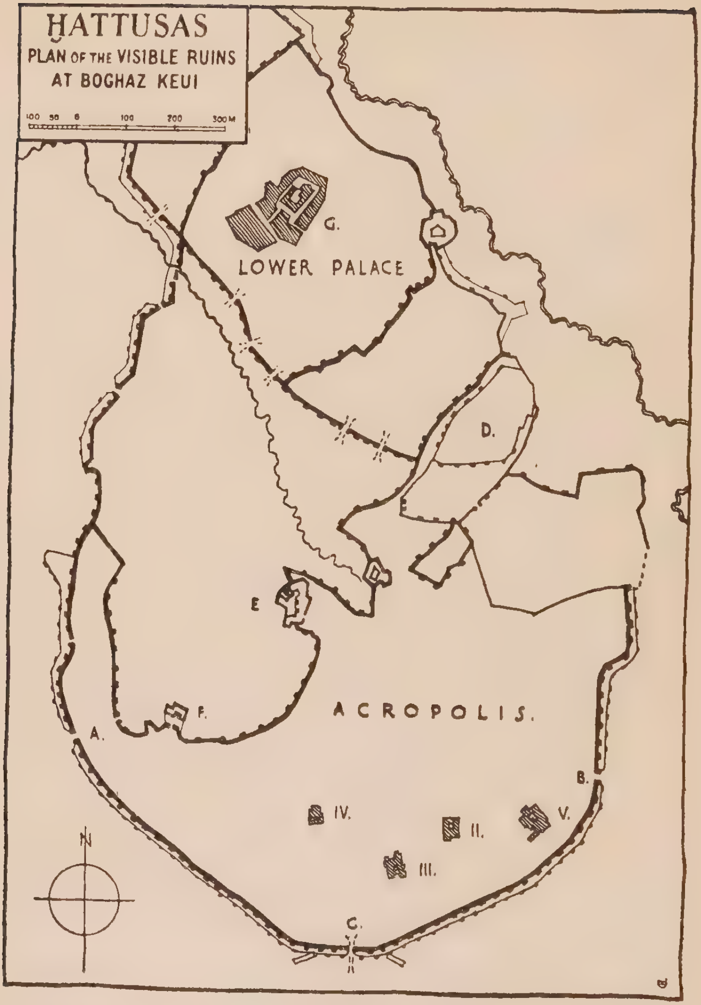
ḪATTUSAS
PLAN OF THE VISIBLE RUINS
AT BOGHAZ KEUI
100 50 0 100 200 300 M
G.
LOWER PALACE
D.
E
F.
A.
ACROPOLIS.
B.
IV.
II.
V.
III.
C.
N

Fig. 1.

A. The Lion Gate. *B*. The Amazon Gate. *C*. Postern.
D. Beuyuk Kaleh. *E*. Sary Kaleh. *F*. Yenije Kaleh.
G. The Lower Palace (fig. 3). II.-V. Upper Palaces, etc. (fig. 4).

spot the small village of Boghaz-Keui nestles at the northern foot of a broad hill, on the top and northern slopes of which there may be seen the extensive enclosing walls and other remains of the ancient city.[1] The hill itself is an outlier of a ridge, with which it is connected only by the high ground towards the South. Indeed, the two streams mentioned, rising on this ridge, descend steeply on either side of the hill, in places through deep gorges, to meet at the foot just below the modern village; and they are fed by small tributaries from the saddle behind the hill, which is thus almost enclosed. From the point where these rise the fall is about a thousand feet to the confluence of the main streams two miles away; their descent is in consequence very rapid, and in the winter they are foaming torrents. That on the eastern side in particular, the Beuyuk Kayanin, has worn down its rocky bed so deeply that where it passes by the eastern knoll of the citadel, called Beuyuk Kaleh, its banks have become precipitous cliffs requiring little or no artificial defence. The Yazir Daresi, on the western side, flows through more alluvial ground, and has there scooped for itself a gorge, in the steep bank of which the harder rocks are left protruding, thus rendering an assault uninviting on that side also. The engineers who planned the defences of the city utilised the natural advantages of the position, banking up the slopes, and bringing the enclosing wall wherever practicable to the edges of the rocks, in which all possible footholds were filled up with masonry.

On the north side, where the line of defence is less clear, the ground is broken by a third small stream, the Kizlar Kaya Daresi, which rises within the circuit of the wall in the high ground of the acropolis, and now joins the Yazir in the modern village. On the level ground, near this junction, there are the traces of an ancient rampart; but as the line of natural defence lies somewhat higher, it may be inferred that the enclosure was extended in this direction at some time of relative security, in order to include a spacious terrace, upon which rose the Lower Palace.[2] The most vulnerable point would seem to have been the high ground to the South, and here the artificial protection was stronger in proportion. The wall was built on this side upon a great earthen rampart revetted with stone, which in its turn followed the line of a natural ridge in the ground, giving an almost impregnable appearance to the enormous mass of the defensive works.[1] So high is this mound that a narrow subterranean way was constructed through it, giving access to the interior.

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[1] See Pl. XVII.

[2] P. 90.

The ground within, which we call the acropolis, is the flat top of the hill, around which the wall forms approximately three sides of a hexagon (excluding the northern portion which descends, as we have seen, to a lower level). The length of the wall upon the acropolis is about one and a half miles, and the greatest width across from east to west is about three-quarters of a mile.[2] The whole circuit of the defences, including the lower portion, is about three miles and a half; while the greatest length from north to south upon the plan is about one mile and a quarter, of which about half lies on the upper level.

The city wall, though built without mortar, was constructed in such a way that it is still traceable continuously around the acropolis, and is preserved in many places to a height of twelve feet or more. It has an average thickness of about fourteen feet, made up of an inner and outer facing each about four feet thick, padded with a core of stone. The outer face was especially strong, consisting of large stones, some of which are as much as five feet in length, but averaging from two feet six inches at the bottom to one foot towards the top, dressed so as to fit together, with a preference for an approximately rectangular or five-sided form. So far as practicable with such material, the masonry was laid in courses but these were liable to be interrupted by a stone larger than usual, or from other cause. Indeed, in some of the inner walls, where the masonry is less massive though similar in character, large stones have been inserted at intervals as a bond and to give general stability. The contour of the wall was further strengthened by buttresses or extra-mural towers, placed at intervals which varied according to the situation, averaging about a hundred feet. These do not seem to have been designed from principles of defence, but solely as architectural supports.[3]

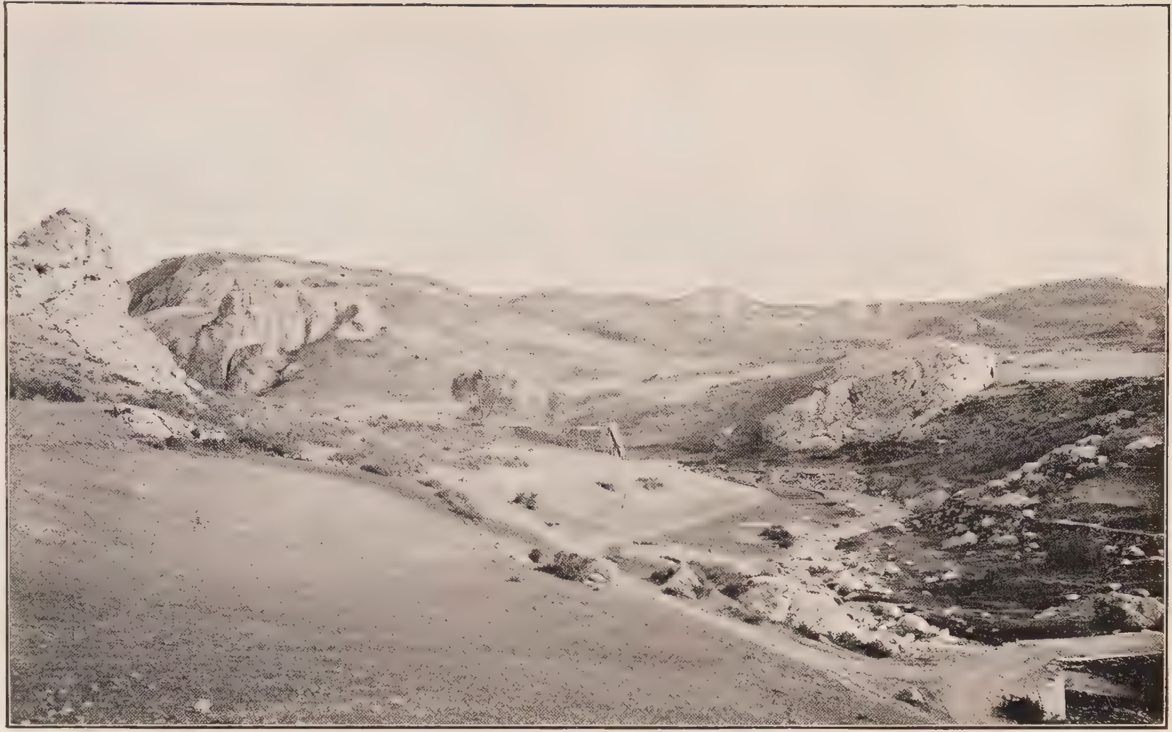
Some of the original doorways leading through the wall

[1] See fig. 2.

[2] See fig. 1.

[3] Cf., however, the mural towers so characteristic of the Syrian fortresses, *infra*, figs. 24, 29, 40.

PLATE XVII


Beuyuk Kaleh.
Sary Kaleh.
Yenije Kaleh.
The Maiden's Rock.
B. Kayanın Daresi.
The Lower Palace.

SITE OF ḪATTUSAS FROM THE N.E., SHOWING THE ACROPOLIS AND REMAINS OF THE LOWER PALACE.

The line of ancient ramparts forms the horizon on the right and follows the brink of the valley on the left.

seem to have been extremely small, not more indeed than three feet in width. The subway under the southern rampart is also very narrow, but this was possibly a later addition. Its exit is a plain doorway, four feet wide, built of three granite blocks arranged as jambs and lintel; inside, the passage has a width of about five feet at the bottom, and is lined with stones in triangular arrangement, with the apex six feet from the floor. It is of interest to compare the principle of vaulting under pressure illustrated by its construction with the system of counterpoise employed in the arches of the larger gateways. These again may have been added since the original inception of the wall. In the vicinity of the Lion-gate, at any rate, the regular courses of the outer masonry give way at the corners, and in their place an arrangement of fitted stones, shaped to receive the corners and eccentricities of their neighbours, recalls the bonding of the palace walls in the lower portion of the interior. This may of course have been a deliberate original variation designed to strengthen the corners where the recess for the gate intervenes; and it is also obvious that some gateway wide enough to admit a cart or chariot must have been necessary at the beginning. Such, however, we are inclined to see in the unsculptured entrance, of similar character but smaller size, called Eshuk Tash, on the south-east of the town. The architectural principle, however, is in each case much the same, and may be studied in the photograph of the Lion-gate itself.[1] This entrance is set

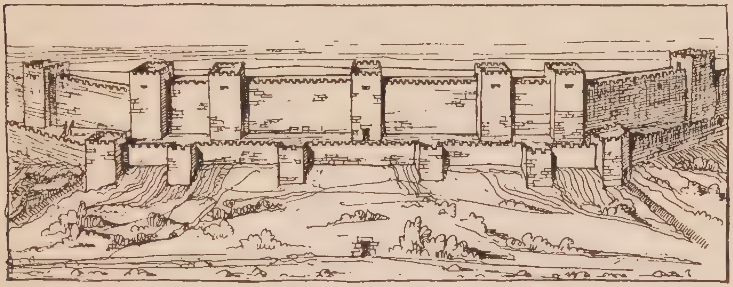


Fig. 2.—The Southern Ramparts of Ḫattusas (*after Puchstein's restoration, Boghaz-Köi*, Pl. x.).

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[1] Pl. xviii.

back thirteen feet from the road, with an approach twenty feet across, narrowing to a clear space of thirteen feet between the jambs of the gateway. These main supports are of great size and weight; and while tending towards one another in a gentle curve as they rise, they are so shaped and bonded to the wall that they stand in solid equilibrium. The height of these single stones is about twelve feet, and in the other gate mentioned about eleven feet. The latter illustrates more clearly the upper structure, in which the pointed arch was brought to its completion by repetition of the same principle of counterpoise. Each of the upper stones projected towards the other, while overhanging sufficiently in the opposite direction to retain its balance singly. Further details are not preserved, but the faces of these also must have been dressed to the curve of the arch, and if they did not approach close enough to touch one another the arch must have been completed by a fifth stone placed over all, as is indeed suggested in the case of the Eshuk Tash.[1] In this way we gain a minimum height for the gateway, without superficial structure, of fifteen or sixteen feet. As the arch was repeated within at a distance of twenty-five feet, it is probable that the two spans supported a chamber or sentry-walk continuous with the parapet. Probably the mass of masonry to left and right indicates a guard-chamber flanking the approach on either side, in the well-known style later adopted by Roman engineers and finally transmitted to mediaeval architecture.

We have dealt somewhat lengthily with the elementary details of this stronghold, but none the less deliberately; for the contemplation of this mass of masonry and the details of its execution is rewarded by an insight, which perhaps no other monument discloses, into the power and resource of the people whom it has so long survived. The famous Lions which guard this entrance are further witness to the standard of their cultural ambitions, and are among the finest products of their art. That on the right hand, which is almost perfectly preserved, forms the subject of our frontispiece. It is treated with a wealth of detail,[2] which however does not detract from the appropriate boldness and

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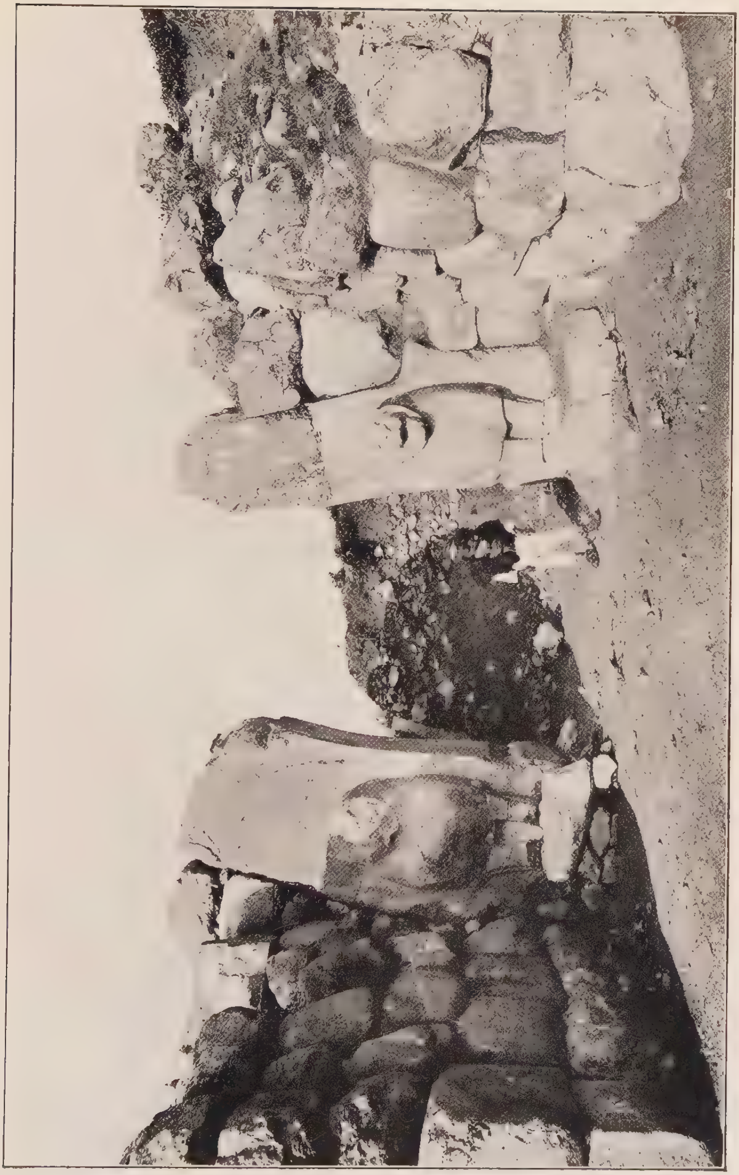
[1] Puchstein, *op. cit.*, p. 80, fig. 61, reconstructs the gateway with three stones on each side.

[2] Cf. also Puchstein, *op. cit.*, p. 76, fig. 54.

To face p. 84.

PLATE XVIII



ḪATTUSAS, THE CITY OF ḪATTI: THE LION-GATE.

realism of the design. This fashion of adorning the gateways with lions, seen also in eastern Taurus at Palanga and Malatia[1] and in northern Syria at Marash, Sinjerli and Sakje-Geuzi,[2] is further paralleled by the neighbouring sphinxes of Eyuk,[3] and to some extent by the monstrous emblems in relief warding off trespassers from the inner gallery in the local sanctuary at Iasily Kaya.[4] As our examination of these monuments proceeds, we shall recognise in these Lions the symbol of the Mother-goddess, the territorial deity, whose mural crown reveals her also as the guardian of cities. Within these cities and walled palaces dwelt the king or local dynast who was at the same time her priest. This decorative feature thus reflects a leading element in the social fabric.

In another gateway of the same character on this acropolis, Professor Winckler's excavations disclosed a high relief of a being clad in the Hittite tunic, shoes and hat, supposed at the time to represent a king.[5] With this opinion we do not agree. The figure is essentially feminine in some respects, noticeably the relative width and poise of the thighs, and the full development of the breasts. In general the sculpture indicates a warrior, but some of the details are noteworthy. The helmet is horned with a crest or plume that seems to hang behind, and guards protect the neck and ears. The upper part of the body is covered with chain mail; and the lower part is clad in a short tunic which appears to be decorated with embroidered bands of spirals and 'herring bone' device, or to be covered with metal fashioned to this design. The broad belt also is strengthened with metal studs. To this is attached a short sword with crescental hilt and curving blade; the scabbard was presumably of leather, and the end recurves acutely, as seen in other sculptures. The battle-axe, held by the right hand, is unique in art. The offensive edge of the weapon is curved and expanding; the reverse is pronged and suggests in shape the human hand, with the thumb pressing for support against the haft. Actual weapons of both these types have been unearthed at Beisan in Palestine,[6] among other Hittite objects offered there at the local shrine of the goddess. The axe is dated by the excavations to the age of Subbiluliuma, which is the Amarna period, about 1375 B.C.; and the sword is rather earlier The importance of this discovery will be realised by a comparison of these objects, which are shown together in our illustration. The result brings us within sight of a reasonable approximation to the date of this sculpture, which from the later style of the helmet and the new details of dress may be assigned to the later period of Ḫattic rule, the thirteenth century B.C.

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[1] Below, p. 204. [2] Below, p. 207. [3] Below, pp. 126-7.

[4] Cf. Nos. 68-9, p. 108.

[5] Puchstein, *op. cit.*, Pls. 17, 18, and fig. 48. Cf. our Pl. XVII.

[6] By Mr. Alan Rowe, who has published his reports in *The Museum*

We see in this sculpture, then, an armed female warrior of the latest phase of the Ḫattic regime, shortly before the overthrow of the capital. At this period, if the references in Homer have any historical value, the Amazons were already active within the immediate circle of the Hittite horizon. Priam fought against them in his youth, in support of the Phrygians, by the SANGARIUS.[1] Their association with THEMISCYRA and the THERMODON is on record,[2] and this district we have found to be in close contact with Ḫatti.[3] The story of Heracles and the double axe harks back to the same epoch and Plutarch's version tells us that Heracles wrested this axe from Hippolyte the Amazon queen.[4] The age though obscure was full of dangers, among which visibly may be counted the menace of the Phrygian invasions,[5] the insurrection of the Lydian Madduwattas, the inroads of Achæans under Attarisiyas, and the repeated rebellions and disaffection of *ARZAWA*.[6] It is conceivable that the female votaries of the goddess who thronged her numerous shrines throughout the country formed at that time armed bands for the protection of their holy places and their very lives; and that the Amazons who next appear in the background of Greek history were a product of these critical circumstances. However that may be, the sculptured relief we have been considering seems to us clearly to represent

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Journal of Philadelphia, 1906, *sqq.*, and courteously provides these illustrations, Pl. XIX. Among the numerous Hittite and Syro-Hittite seals forming part of this deposit there is one on which Mr. Rowe sees two Hittite hieroglyphs. There is a somewhat similar pronged battle-axe from Nimrud in the British Museum, figured by Handcock, *Mesopotamian Archaeology*, Pl. XXVIII.

[1] Homer, *Iliad*, iii. 189.

[2] Strabo, XII. iii. 9, XI. v. 4; Herodotus, ix. 27.

[3] Above, p. 72 f.

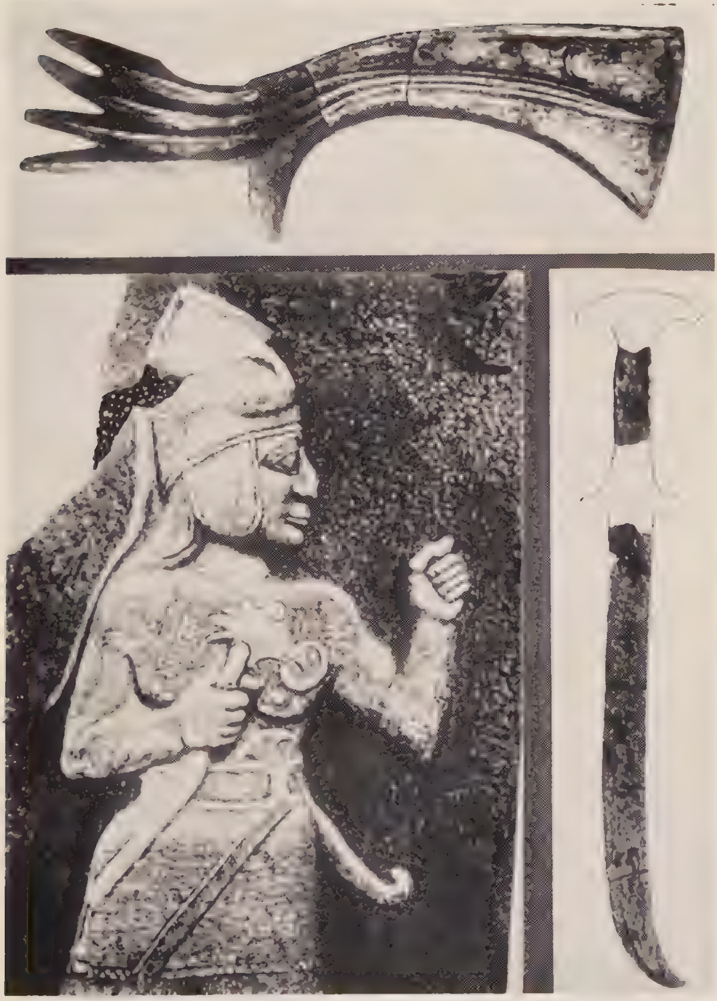
[4] Above, p. 19.

[5] Above, p. 15.

[6] Götze, *Madduwattas*, pp. 146 ff.

To face p. 86.

PLATE XIX



ḪATTUSAS: THE "WARRIOR" GATE FIGURE AND WEAPONS FROM BEISAN.
See also p. 332.

a female Hittite warrior, possibly the Queen herself in warrior dress.[1]

The outer wall was not the only defensive work which the advantages of the site afforded. Across the enclosure are a series of prominent crags overlooking the lower ground to the north, and marking by their alignment the edge of the acropolis which gives access to them.[2] One may be tempted to presuppose, as indeed we have already suggested, that these indicate a line of earlier defences and the natural limits of an earlier city situated entirely upon the hill. They were crowned with rectangular forts, built of square blocks of masonry arranged in courses, and they constituted in any case a formidable second line of defence against attack from below. That which is called Yenije Kaleh is illustrated by our photograph:[3] its position is not naturally so strong, however, as that of the middle of the three forts of this series, which presents a precipitous face to the northern side. The largest of these knolls—hence called Beuyuk Kaleh—is to the East, and overlooks the gorge of the river on that side.[4] To the North, however, where it descends to the lower part of the enclosure on which lie the famous palace ruins, the slope is less abrupt, and it has been fronted accordingly with a stout buttressed wall, built of large stones roughly pentagonal or squared, the lowest courses of which are from two to three feet in height.

Hereabouts, in the dip between the two forts last described, is the weathered rock inscription known as Nishan Tash.[5] Descending thence to the lower ground, which follows the course of the stream through the middle of the enclosure, two further rocks arrest attention by the fact that they have been worked by hand. The first of these is called the Maiden's Rock, and has given its Turkish name of Kizlar

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[1] It is noteworthy that the Great Queen and the royal mother figure prominently in the reign of Dudḫalia III., one of the last kings of the line (*c.* 1255-1230 B.C.). Cf. Winckler, *M.D.O.G.*, No. 35, p. 29. The royal mother was presumably Putu-khipa herself, since on the death of Ḫattusil an edict had created her co-regent with Dudḫalia (*ibid.*, p. 27). The exalted status of the Queen in this age is attested by these and other passages in the records.

[2] *D, E, F* in our plan, fig. 1; based on Puchstein, *op. cit.*, Pls. I., II.

[3] Cf. the Forts of Giaour-Kalesi, p. 146, Karaburna, p. 120, and Kizil Dagh, p. 155.

[4] See the photograph on Pl. XVII., where these features may be seen in the distance.

[5] Above, p. 78, note 4.

Kaya to the stream which passes just below it. Though of considerable dimensions, this rock, besides being dressed around the sides and worked down squarely in two places in the body, has been cleanly cut across the top with the exception of a small table-like protuberance remaining towards one end; it may therefore have been used as a high place and altar. The other, which lies still further down and nearer to the Lower Palace, has been cleft in two, to form as it were a passage through it from side to side. It

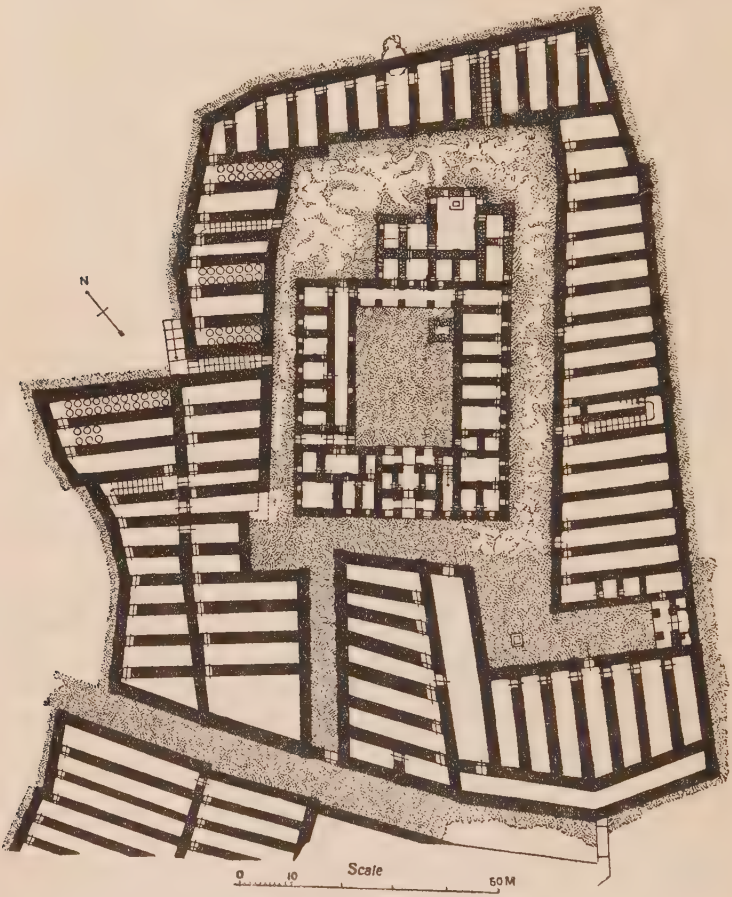

Fig. 3.—The Lower Palace at Ḫattusas.

would be unsafe without evidence to suggest any definite use for these rocks in ancient times, and it is possible that their peculiarities may have resulted only from the quarrying

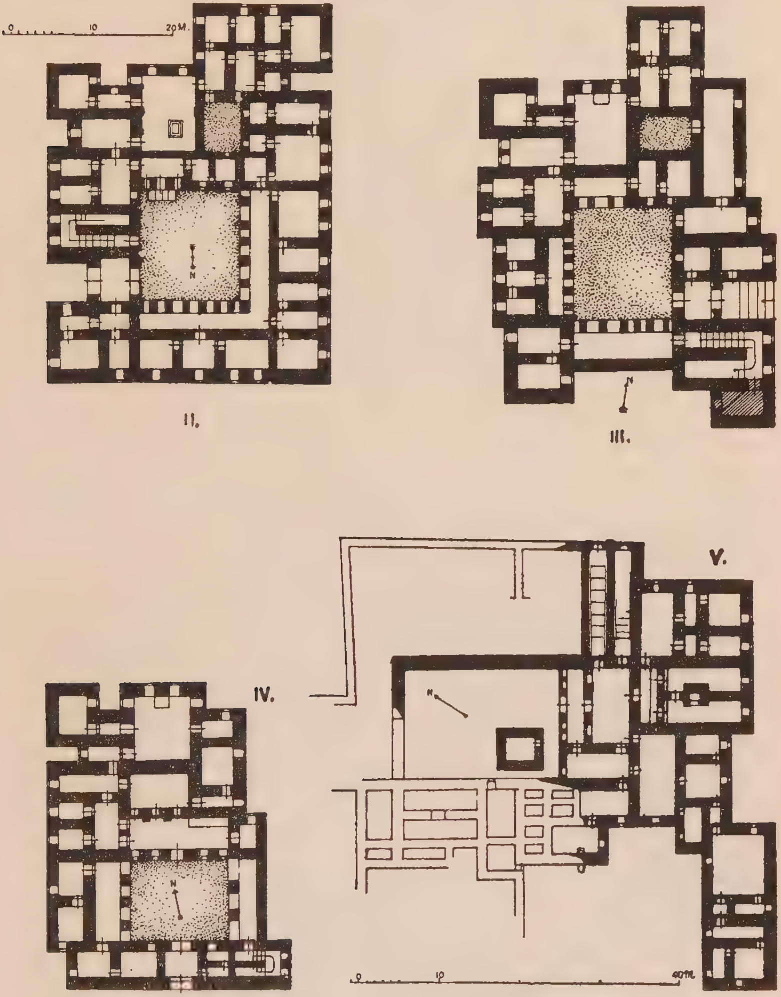

Fig. 4.—Upper Palaces and Temple at Ḫattusas.

of the stone blocks used for the Lower Palace or other buildings of the site.

We use the term Lower Palace to designate the foundations made famous by the visit of Texier,[1] and the later descriptions of Professor Perrot,[2] in distinction to those more recently discovered by Dr. Winckler on the upper acropolis, where the ruins of four such buildings were found, of which three were probably palaces and the fourth a temple.[3] The lower courses of the first-mentioned palace, however, are visible above the ground, so that its plan may be readily traced out ; and whether to be identified as palace or as a temple, it presents an interesting study, and a peculiar link between the architecture of the East and West.[4] As may be seen in our photograph,[5] that which remains of it is built in large single blocks of stone about four feet in thickness and averaging twice that measure in length. Its form is rectangular, with a length just over 210 feet down the main axis, and a width of 128 feet. Its chief entrance is in the middle of the southern side ; whence, passing small guard-rooms on either hand, it leads into a large central court, around which are chambers, a double series at the ends and a single series at the sides. To the north and to the west a passage or corridor intervenes between the court and the rooms : that on the north was gained by a separate opening opposite the main entrance, and one chamber (across the passage and to the left) is filled by a large tank or bath of stone. These portions of the building may be judged to have been residential, while the front and east wings were devoted to offices of the palace. There are few further features of the interior obvious to the eye except the size and arrangement of the rooms, which may be studied in the plan. The central court is paved with rough stones [6] at a depth of three feet below the present surface, a depth which probably accords with the foundations of the walls and with the ancient level.

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[1] Texier, *Description of Asia Minor*, i. Pl. LXXX.

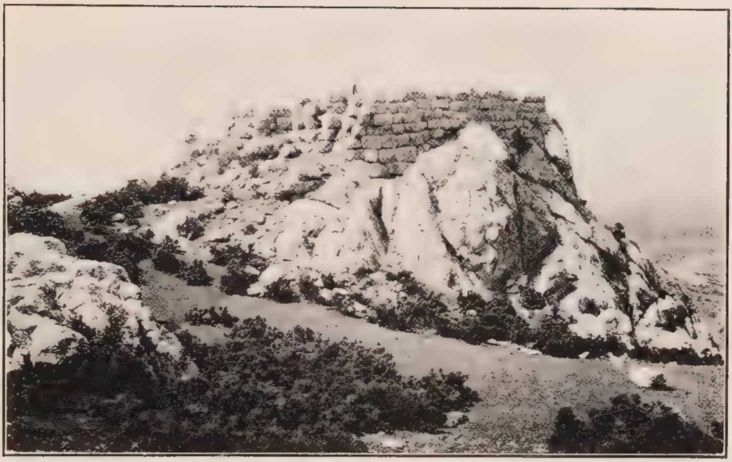
[2] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 *et seqq.*

[3] Winckler, *Report cit.*, pp. 62 ff. See figs. 1 and 4.

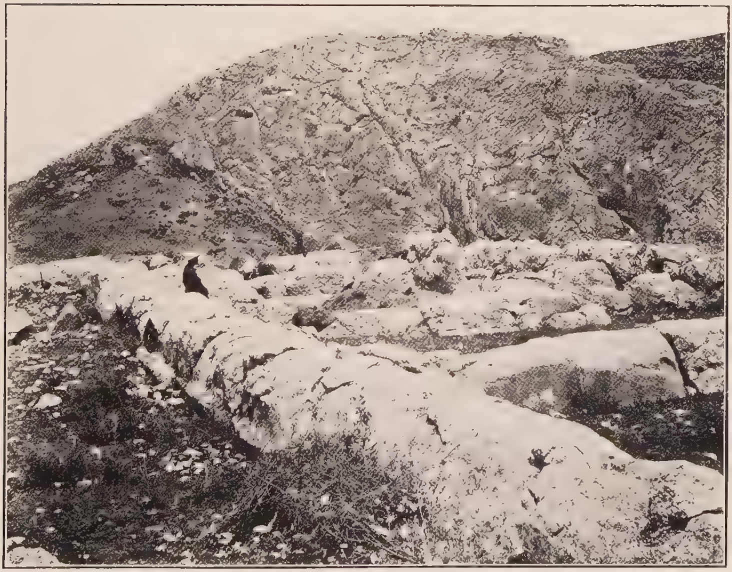
[4] See our plans, figs. 3, 4, based on Puchstein, *op. cit.*, Pl. 34 and fig. 108. Our investigations failed to trace any structural relation between the central building, fig. 3, and the surrounding chambers, in which the archives were first discovered.

[5] Pl. xx. (*b*).

[6] We were indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Winckler and his colleagues for the facilities which enabled us to study this site and make soundings during the progress of the excavations in 1907.



THE FORTRESS CALLED YENIJE-KALEH.



REMAINS OF THE LOWER PALACE.

HATTUSAS: STRUCTURAL DETAILS.

The sloping ground to the north was prepared for this building by a stone revetment mounting in steps; and special precautions were taken against slipping in the bonding of the masonry on that side. Not only are the stones of the upper courses shaped to fit into one another in a scheme of 'joggles,' resembling 'tongues and grooves,' to borrow a term better known, but the lower course is provided with a ridge rising along its front edges, which further prevented any general movement of the whole in that direction. The level nature of the preserved masonry, and certain features pointed out by Perrot,[1] suggest that the upper part of the building was constructed of smaller materials, such as wood and bricks, as is indeed supported by observations made by Dr. Curtis in one of the upper buildings recently discovered in the acropolis.[2]

Two sculptured blocks of granite may be appropriately mentioned at this point, though they have no clear relation to the buildings of the site, having been found at the foot of the acropolis. They are cubical, and the face of each is decorated with a relief. In the upper part of the stone there is a socket-hole, from which fact the discoverers argued that they were the bases for statues,[3] though from the analogy which other discoveries afford,[4] it would appear more probable that they once formed part of the lowest course of a building. The subject of the reliefs is religious, and it appears on each stone, the only difference between the two being found in three out of five hieroglyphic signs that occur in each case. Otherwise the subject represented is the same. This shows a person, presumably a priest, clad in toga-like robe standing in an attitude of prayer before an altar. He wears a skull-cap, shoes with turned-up toes, and ear-ring. The toga is worn (in one case plainly) over a short tunic and vest. His left hand is raised towards the altar, and his left foot is advanced. The altar is of square shape, and without exact parallel in Hittite representations.[5] It is decorated with squares divided by diagonal lines and crosses. There is a little difference discernible in the arrangement of these decorative details, the chief point being that on the one they are arranged in rows (in which case there are no crosses) and on the other in columns (in which case the crosses form

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[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[2] Winckler, *Report cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

[3] Winckler, *Mitt. d. Deut. Orient. Ges. zu Berlin*, Dec. 1907, No. 35, pp. 57, 58, figs. 6, 7.

[4] Eyuk, p. 133; Malatia, p. 202.

[5] Though found in hieroglyph at Emir-Ghazi (below, p. 159), and in the round on Kuru-Bel (Pl. XLII.).

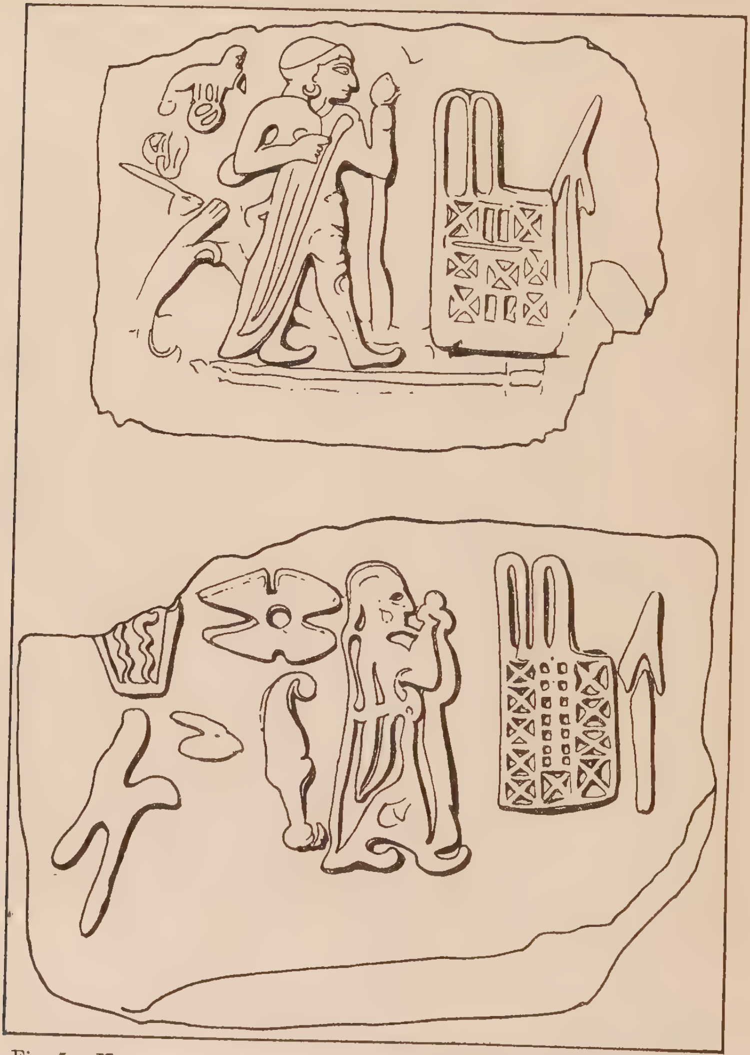

Fig. 5.—Ḫattusas: Decorated Building Blocks found at the foot of the Acropolis. (See p. 91.)

a partial middle column between two of diagonals). Conspicuous upon the altar, one on the right hand and the other on the left, are two tall loop-like or round-topped objects standing vertically. Behind the altar there seems to be the cult object, which at first glance looks very like a harpoon, though the head is bent somewhat backward. It may, however, be thought to represent some pointed object (like the Hittite hat) on a pole. The style appears to be earlier than that illustrated by other sculptures of the site.

To judge by the foundations disclosed at a greater depth by Dr. Winckler's expedition, the palace which we have described seems to mark the site of an earlier and much larger palace. It was mostly from the ruins of this building that were recovered those precious tablets inscribed in the cuneiform script, the long-lost pages in the history of monarchs, empires and principalities, that are now yielding up their amazing secrets.[1] The collection was made by the last Ḫattic kings, and some of the tablets are copies of older records which had been damaged. They refer back to the beginnings of Hittite history, but they relate particularly to the Imperial Age of Subbiluliuma and his successors, and they come to an end about 1200 B.C. Incidentally they afford a fundamental date in the occupation of the Lower Palace.

We have no means of estimating, from the published sources or otherwise, the history of the development of this ancient capital. The excavations were not completed, nor did the publication give the essential archaeological information. But some conjectures, as a working hypothesis, may be made from the probabilities of the case with the date of the tablets as a basis, awaiting meanwhile the results of a more complete investigation. In the first place, as to the date of the main fortifications, though the period of empire is not necessarily the time of building home defences, yet in this case the deliberate and vast nature of the outer walls conveys no impression of haste or of the imminence of danger. The scheme and details are carried out with dignity, thoroughness, and elaboration. It was the product of a prosperous age, dictated by prudence rather than immediate conscious necessity. Yet in addition to the dangers outlined above, that may have called forth the Amazons, there is record in the earlier archives of several rebellions and invasions by disaffected states, some of which involved the temporary evacuation of *Ḫattusas*;[1] and even while the Hittite kings were treating on equal terms with the courts of Thebes and Babylon, the shadow of the Assyrian armies already clouded the eastern horizon, while the menace of barbarian northern hordes was probably ever present. It may safely be supposed that the city must have been prepared against assault at any rate when it became under Subbiluliuma the capital of an empire. This does not suggest that the defensive wall and gateways still visible belong entirely to that age; indeed the normal upkeep and repair of the fortifications must have involved successive modifications. The date we have assigned to the Amazon warrior figure, and the constructive details around the Lion-gate, indicate the same conclusion. The palace which is visible above the soil and was built upon the older one, as we maintain, suggests a still later reconstruction or building-period. From the plan of the palace this may be conjectured to have preceded any wide spreading of Assyrian influences; and from our own observations it was probably contemporary with a certain class of coloured pottery, which at Sakje-Geuzi[2] was already passing out of vogue at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Upon this point it is interesting to notice that the difference of axial direction between this and the buried palace, namely, 2½°, would, if astronomically dictated, suggest a lapse of time amounting to about two hundred and thirty years,[3] assigning the date of the restoration to the end of the eleventh century B.C. The absence of visible sculptures on the façade of this building contrasts with the evident practice of the Ḫattic period, as seen in the carvings of Iasily Kaya (which we shall next describe), and the buildings of Eyuk.

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[1] Above, p. 5, n. 5.

The two sculptured stones already mentioned as found further up the slope of Beuyuk Kaleh, seem to reflect that period; and in the absence of other data we feel inclined to ascribe them, on the evidence of style, to an early phase, possibly the reign of Subbiluliuma, parallel with the lower range of sculptures at Eyuk. Two sculptured lions are found lying in close proximity to the lower palace, those which were supposed by Texier and Perrot [1] to be the arms of a throne, but are now shown [2] to be the end ornaments of a tank, with a similar pair on the opposite side. These correspond both in style and in details of art with the lions guarding the palace entrance at Sakje-Geuzi,[3] which may be dated approximately to the tenth or ninth century B.C. This tank was presumably an addition to the palace, and of later date, as its partly exposed situation, above the level of the palace floor, suggests; and this conclusion is accordant with our other considerations. For historical reasons we feel inclined to assign the inception of the Lower Palace, and the fortification of the lower city, to the later years of Ḫattusil, but there is no archaeological corroboration of this probability. Lastly, it is to be borne in mind that if correctly identified with the Pteria of Herodotus, the city was apparently still the most important within the Halys in the age of Croesus; so that its defences must have been maintained and renewed at various times after the fall of Ḫatti.

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[1] Cf. Götze, *Hattusil*, obv. i. l. 76, ii. ll. 2, 3, 5, iii. l. 32.

[2] See below, p. 276 f.

[3] From calculations supplied from our rough data by the late Sir Norman Lockyer.

In conclusion we tentatively summarise the present possibilities of local development, which any new item of evidence may profoundly modify:

c. B.C. 1400.	Upper City fortified.	*Temp.* Subbiluliuma.
1330.	Fortifications strengthened.	*Temp.* Mursil.
1275.	Sculptures of Iasily Kaya.	,, Ḫattusil.
1250.	Decorated gateways (Amazon and Lions).	
1240.	Lower Palace and archives.	*Temp.* Dudḫalia.
1200.	Fall of *Ḫattusas.*	
1000.	Lower Palace reconstructed.	(? Pteria.)

(*b*) The Chief Sanctuary: Its Sculptures and their Meaning

Character of the Sanctuary. Description of the Carved Figures: Two Processions: Other Personages and Groups. Identity of the Leading Gods and Goddesses of Ḫatti and other States. The Rite a Divine Marriage: its Political Significance.

The far-famed sculptures named by the Turks simply Iasily Kaya (Sculptured Rock) are found at a distance of about two miles eastward from the village of Boghaz-Keui. They are not easy to locate, as there are few landmarks of special character, and the ancient city is there no more in sight. To the north-west a number of rolling valleys unfold themselves, while the gently rising ground to the north-east is partly corn-land and partly green pasture, splashed as it rises to its crest with dark scrub, and broken here and there with bare limestone rocks,—a typical view of an Anatolian highland.

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[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[2] By Dr. Winckler's excavations, *Report cit.*, figs. 3, 4; pp. 54-5.

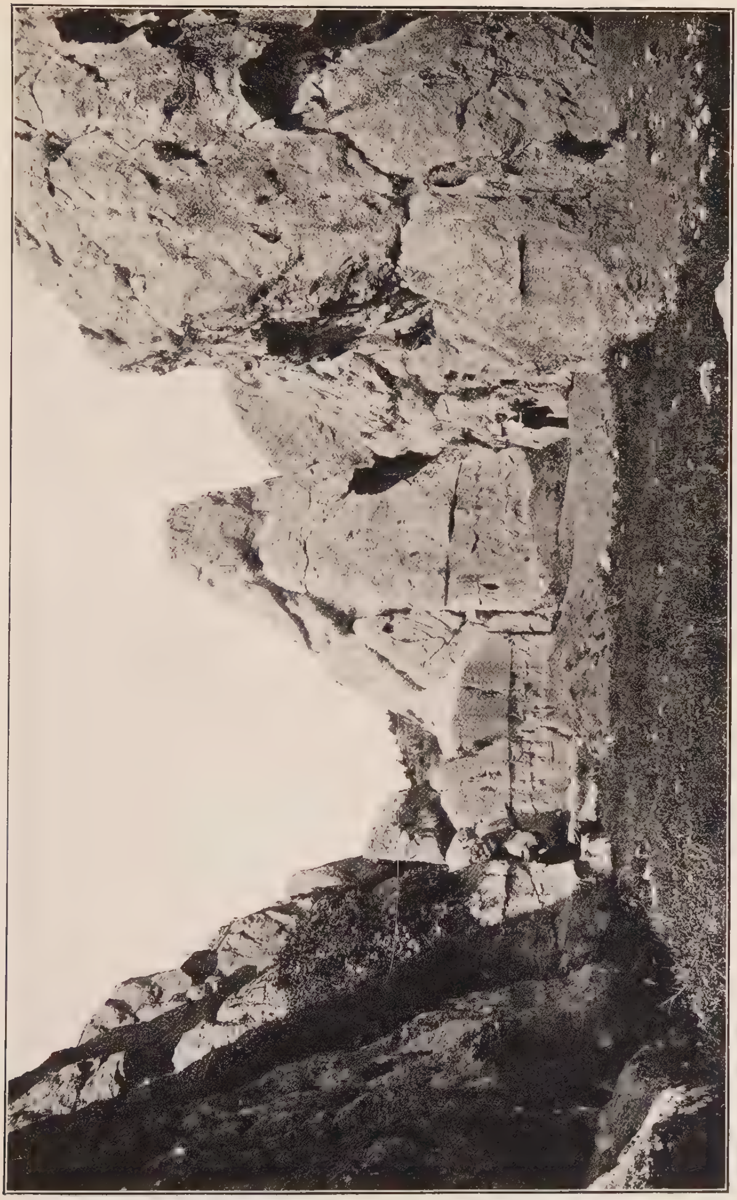
[3] *Infra*, Pls. XLVII., XLVIII., and p. 267.

The sculptures are found in one of these masses of rock which is not the largest or most conspicuous of the series, nor distinguishable in any general way. Its chief attraction of old was probably the natural facility which certain irregularities in its formation afforded to the purpose in view. Towards its west side there is a recess about thirty yards deep, which opens towards the south-west on to a broad grassy terrace, the entrance to it being some seventeen yards across. The walls of this rocky chamber, though projecting irregularly at intervals, draw more or less evenly together, until about six yards from the end they are not more than seven yards apart. At this point they widen out a little, so that the end wall which faces the entrance had a width of about eight yards. This innermost wall, having the largest plane surface and being appropriately situated in the depth of the recess, was prepared and utilised for the central group of sculptures, which are on a scale proportionate to the relative dignity of the personages they represent. The two sides of the rock chamber were dressed in strips each from two to three yards in length and about three feet in height, in conformity with the irregularities of the rock, and displayed as a continuous band of decoration a long procession of figures in low relief.

What is the subject and what the purpose of these sculptures ? At the outset it must be remarked that they are so much weathered, being protected only partially from the violence of the wind, and not at all from the rain, that little can be said as to the artistic composition of the whole, or as to the execution of its details. Generally speaking, however, we may say that the design is commemorative and emblematic rather than artistically decorative. It represents two converging processions which meet in the centre of the end wall (that which is opposite to the entrance).

To face p. 96.

PLATE XXI



BOGHAZ-KEUI: GENERAL VIEW OF THE LARGER RECESS IN THE SANCTUARY OF IASILY KAYA.

Notice on the corner of projecting rock to the right the traces of the representation of a Ceremonial Feast.

On the right of this meeting-point the figures, with two exceptions, are those of robed females. On the left the persons represented are chiefly male,[1] but include two females, and are interspersed with certain winged beings of mythological character, and a group of two monstrosities which are not easy to explain. Hittite hieroglyphs and emblems accompany many of the figures, which are further identified by certain recognisable details of dress and weapons.

Chief interest centres naturally on the leading figures of these processions, those which are carved on the end wall opposite to the entrance; but the real importance of these is made clearer by a preliminary glance at the whole series of sculptures on either side.[2] The figures on the left hand are forty-three in number, of which the first stands upon the shoulders of two others, bringing the total number on that side to forty-five. The leader is a godlike figure nearly seven feet high, clad in short tunic and shoes with turned-up toes. His left leg is forward and his left arm is advanced; the right arm is drawn back, and, the face being in profile to the left, we have here an illustration of the familiar convention, seen also in Egyptian drawing, whereby the front view of the upper part of the body is represented, while the head and limbs are reproduced in profile. Only in the sculptures before us we see, whether as an illusion caused by the softening hand of Time, or whether by the deliberate treatment of the Hittite sculptor, an infinitely greater freedom, fullness, and mute suggestion of life imparted to the figure than we are wont to find in Egyptian funereal sculptures and temple decorations, notwithstanding the masterly skill with which the latter have usually been executed. The right hand of this leading figure grasps the handle of a large round mace which rests upon his shoulder, and a dirk with crescent-shaped handle hangs at his left side, presumably from a girdle. Upon his head there is the tall conical head-dress of the Hittite peoples, though differing slightly from the ordinary representations in that the vertical ribs or flutings of this hat are connected by rings, in suggestion of metal work.[1] The hair at the back is gathered in a long pigtail, the curling end of which is seen behind the elbow. The face seems to have been bearded, and there is the suggestion of a large earring hanging from the lower lobe of the ear. The outstretched left hand holds a three-pronged emblem and sign towards the advancing figure to which it is opposed, the two figures being balanced in the composition of the group. Behind each is a small horned animal, presumably a goat, capped with the plain conical hat upon its head, and with the forepart and legs advancing beyond the body of the main figure. The two beings who support the figure just described wear long robes, bound by a girdle at the waist, and seemingly fringed or bordered round the bottom of the skirt. Their clasped hands are raised before their bearded chins, and their heads are slightly bowed in a natural pose of reverence or adoration. Their hats are similar to that just described, but seem to be flexible, bending forwards towards the tip in response to the inclination of the heads; while lower down there is something projecting, probably the upturned brim of the hat.[2]

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[1] Ramsay (*Luke the Physician*, p. 203, in a chapter largely reprinted from a paper in the *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1882) makes the remarkable suggestion that most of the figures apparently male are those of females in disguise (*e.g.* Amazons); but we have found nothing in our study of these sculptures to support this view. With all deference to a great scholar's first impressions, we believe that if he revisited the monuments, and viewed them in the light of the new comparative material, he would find no reason to maintain the point of view which may have seemed warranted forty-five years ago. One of the chief arguments is the delicacy and femininity of face seen in some of the sculptures; yet on the same argument several of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties would appear to have been female. The refinement is clearly that of the sculptor.

[2] See the plan, p. 102, and Pl. XXIV.

The figure following immediately behind this leader, though somewhat smaller in stature, would seem to have considerable importance, being raised on two tall flat-topped pinnacles, so that his head is on a level with the others of this group. In details of pose, costume, and armour, this figure resembles that which precedes it, except that in the left hand a long sword with flat hilt is held aloft, and the emblems which denote his rank are placed between the sword

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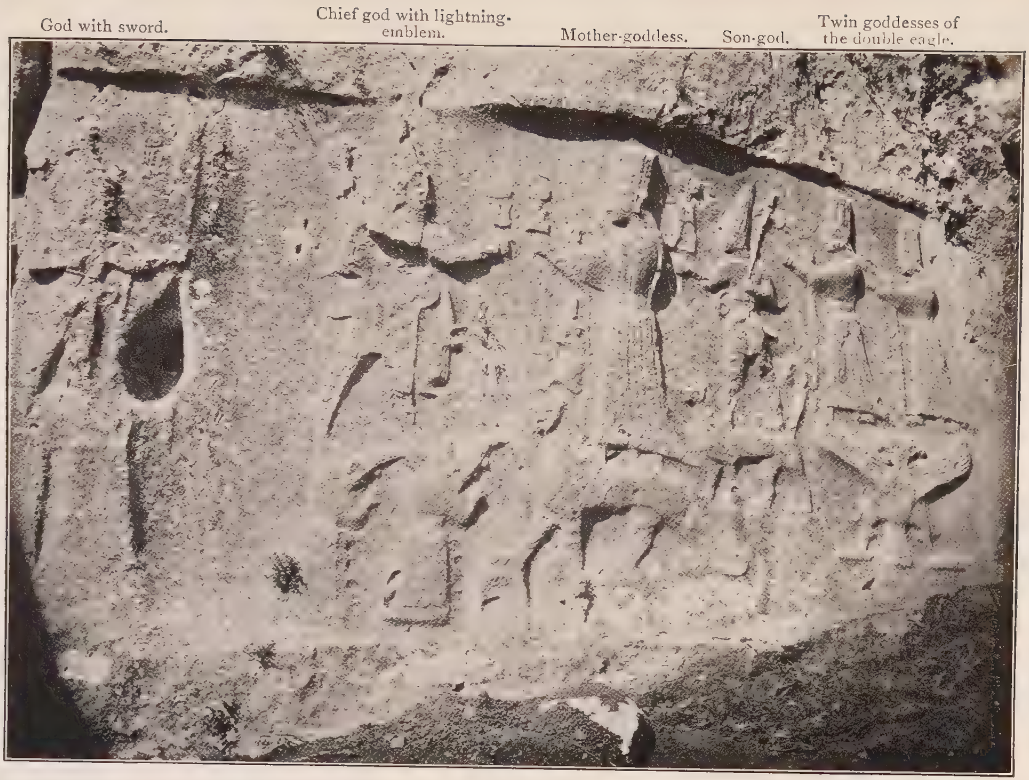
[1] Cf. the Malatia sculptures, Pl. XXXVIII.

[2] This is a common feature on Hittite sculptures, and on several well-preserved instances from here (cf. Pl. XXIV.) and elsewhere, notably from Sinjerli (cf. Pls. XLIV., XLV., and Berlin V.-A. Mus., Cast No. 199), it seems to be due to a plain metal or otherwise stiff attachment rising from or continuous with the brim of the hat.

To face p. 98.

PLATE XXII


God with sword.
Chief god with lightning-emblem.
Mother-goddess.
Son-god.
Twin goddesses of the double eagle.

BOGHAZ-KEUI : THE CENTRAL SCULPTURES IN THE LARGE RECESS AT IASILY KAYA.

and hat. A girdle is plain in this case. A third figure follows upon this wall, as shown in our continuous drawing but not in our photograph.[1] It is in an exposed corner, and most of the detail is lost, but it may be seen to resemble the second, though the emblem held in the left hand seems to differ considerably, being of feather-like appearance. The right leg also, which is behind as in all other cases in this scene, may be designedly hidden by the fold of a cloak descending to the ankle.

The fourth figure in the procession (the first in order upon the left side wall of the recess) is again similar in appearance to the leader of the procession, but on the smaller scale, being only three feet in height. The fifth however presents essential points of difference. The shoes, pigtail and ear-rings are repeated ; the hat also is the common one without the rings ; but the long shirt or cloak has curious oblique curving folds, and it trains somewhat behind the right leg. The left toe alone is visible, and the front edge of the robe is seen as far forward as the elbow, obviously descending from the shoulder. Most conspicuous of all are a pair of narrow wings rising from behind the shoulders well above the top of the head. The objects held by the hands cannot now be recognised. This figure is identical with a winged deity from Malatia in all respects except that the latter is shown standing upon a thunderbolt.[2]

Then follow two female figures, clad in long pleated skirts like the figures in the opposite procession. A belt encircles the waist of each, but it is not clear whether the upper part of the body is bare or clad in a tight-fitting garment ; the breasts in any case are distinct. The head-dress is not plain ; if a cap is worn it must fit closely, while the hair or wig ends in large distinct curls above the shoulder. The left hands are not visible, but the right hands fall by the side, each holding by the handle in a reversed position a disc-like object suggestive of a mirror.[3] The eighth figure, like the fifth, is winged ; and horns, or a crescent, are conspicuous in the hat, but other details are obscure. The ninth is clearer and of special interest. The robe is like a toga, with a tight sleeve to the right arm, and the loose end flung over the left shoulder. A dirk is by the side as before, but in the right hand there appears a long curving lituus held reversed. Above the outstretched left hand is a group of signs among which may be recognised a crescent and a feather or star-like object.[1] The face is beardless, and the cap is close-fitting to the skull. Above the head is a composite emblem, in which the main elements are a rosette surrounded by a horseshoe-shaped device recalling the head-dress of the sphinxes in the neighbouring city of Eyuk,[2] and supported by large outspread wings, bound at intervals, which turn slightly upwards at the ends. This figure closely resembles the larger one opposite to it, the isolated twenty-second figure on the right,[3] which is described below.

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[1] Pl. XXIV. and Pl. XXII.

[2] Compare the winged deity of Malatia, Pl. XXXVIII. and p. 203.

[3] Cf. p. 224 f. and fig. 18.

The six figures just described fill the left-hand wall of the inner part of the enclosure. The rock now breaks away somewhat sharply, and the next length is decorated with nine figures on a somewhat smaller scale. Five of these are similar to one another.[4] Their costume includes the short-belted tunic, the conical ribbed hat with rings, and the shoe with upturned toe; and the pose of figures is as previously detailed. The pigtail is suggested in some cases, though the chins are beardless. No weapons are discernible, but each carries in his right hand an object like a sickle or scimitar, which is supported by the right shoulder. A group of emblems or signs precedes each figure, varying in each case. Two other figures of the nine differ only slightly from this model; the one [5] in having apparently a long cloak which partly covers the right leg, in addition to the tunic; and the other [6] in the appearance of a wing rising from the left shoulder, a cap of closer fit, and no object over the right shoulder; but these three distinctions may be illusions due to the weathering of the stone. The remaining pair [7] illustrate an utterly different *motif*. The two component figures resemble one another, and together form a group of monstrous character. The arms and body of each are human, the legs are those of a quadruped, and the head,

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[1] Cf. Sayce, *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1903, p. 154, No. 11.

[2] Pl. XXVIII. and p. 132. On the symbolism of these emblems cf. Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, pp. 30 ff.

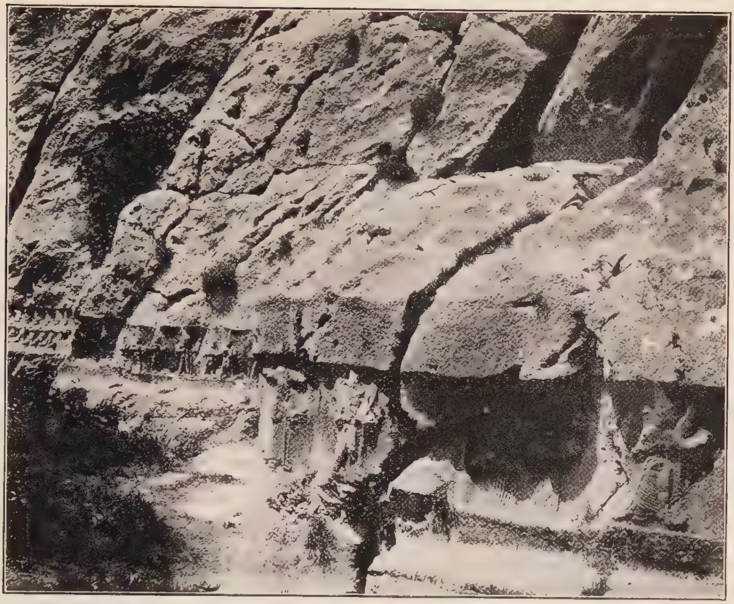
[3] See fig. 6, p. 106.

[4] Namely Nos. 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, in the plan, p. 102. For position of the group, see the drawing, Pl. XXIV.

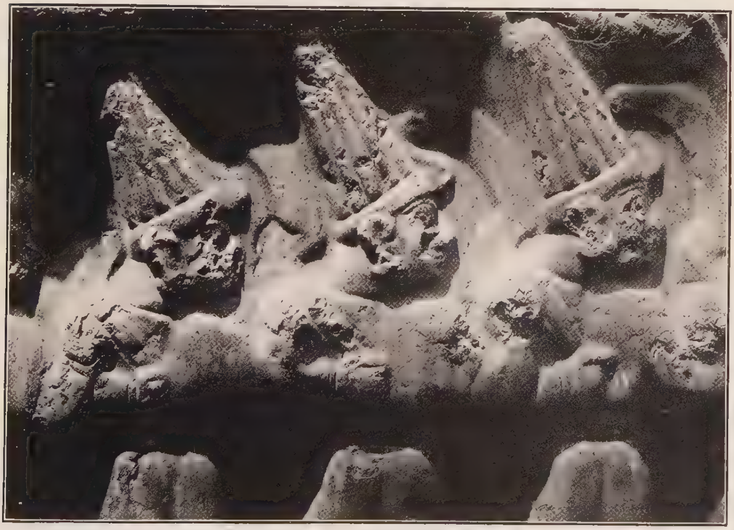
[5] No. 17.

[6] No. 12.

[7] Nos. 14, 15.



View of the sculptures on the left side from within.



Three figures from the group on the left in the small gallery at Iasily Kaya.

IASILY KAYA: DETAILS OF SCULPTURED FIGURES.

with feline ears, is also that of an animal. To the right-hand figure a tail is added, while each is represented with a pigtail. They stand symmetrically upon an object, possibly a wine-press,[1] oblong in form with two rod-like handles projecting from each side. The left-hand figure wears a short plain skirt. The arms of both are upraised, and bracelets may be detected on the wrists; they support an object of crescent form, not easy to recognise upon the weathered rock. Possibly it is the symbol of a Moon-god, supported by two 'demons.'[2]

The three figures following this pair have been described, and with them the second straight length of wall comes to an end. The next bend is inwards, and the wall becomes nearly parallel to the axis of the chamber, containing in this length nine further figures. The leaders[3] are similar in general appearance to those which precede them, though the object carried on the shoulder may be thought to resemble rather the mace carried by the head of the whole procession. The same may be said of two others[4] of this series, but the condition of the stone is too bad to enable much detail to be gathered. In regard to the pair between these,[5] no objects are now visible in their hands, while their costumes also show some difference of detail. The one seems to have a long cloak, or possibly a staff, hanging from the arm, while the robe of the other is striped horizontally over the left leg. The third figure of the group[6] is peculiar; the arms seem to be thrown forward, with a cloak or long staff hanging down from below the shoulder, while the hat also is inclined slightly forward. A horn or peak to the hat is also traceable. The two last of this series[7] resemble rather the type of the figures supporting the leader of the procession, both as regards costume, position of the hands, and the curving forward of the hat, even though the heads are not inclined as in the earlier instance quoted.

There next follow, on a short return of the wall, three figures[8] which we found too weathered to describe afresh, though two of them have been represented by earlier visitors as bearded and wearing embroidered robes. The next and last turn of the wall, which now resumes its main parallel direction, is occupied by thirteen figures, of which the first[1] seems to be a robed and bearded figure of the kind indicated by those two which precede it. It stands apart from those which follow; so too do the next two, though not so far, while the remaining ten figures[2] are close together. These

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[1] Resembling a large double bellows. Professor Sayce points out the analogy with a Hittite hieroglyph in an inscription from Emir-Ghazi. (See below, p. 159.)

[2] Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[3] Nos. 19, 20.

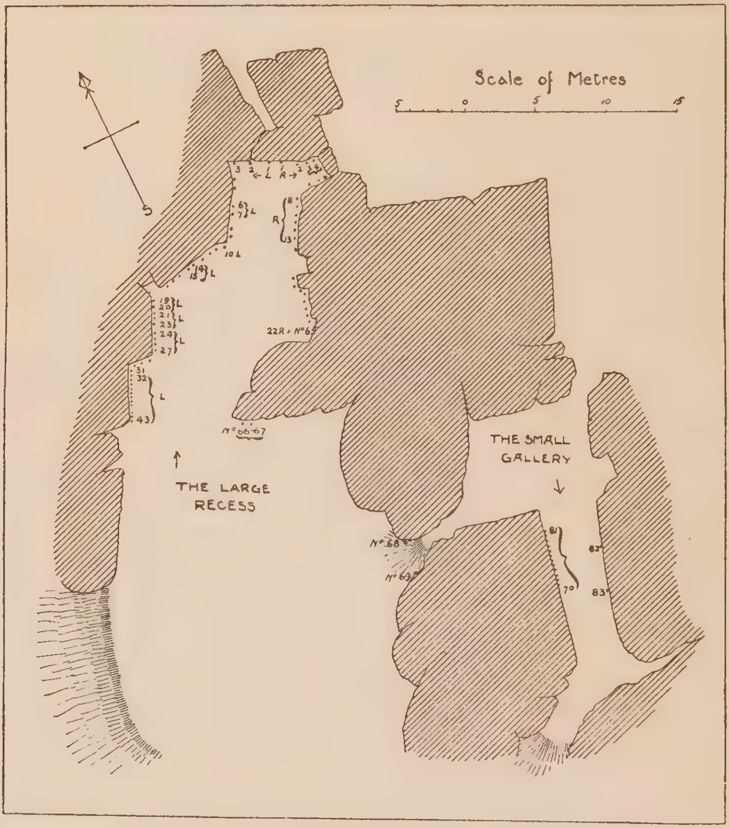
[4] Nos. 22, 25.

[5] Nos. 23, 24.

[6] No. 21.

[7] Nos. 26, 27.

[8] Nos. 28-30.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22R = No 65
31
32
L
43
No 66-67
THE LARGE RECESS
THE SMALL GALLERY
No 68
No 69
81
70
82
83

Boghaz-Keui: Plan of the Rock Sanctuary called Iasily Kaya, with the Positions of the Sculptures Numbered. (Cf. Pl. xxiv.)

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[1] No. 31 of the whole series.

[2] Nos. 32-43.

twelve figures are all alike, clad in tunics, conical hats, and tip-tilted shoes. They carry no weapons, and their right feet are partly raised, touching the ground only with the toes, as in quick movement or in dancing, which is suggested also by the position of the arms, drawn up at the double, and to some extent by the poise of the bodies. These figures also, unlike the rest, are not in procession but in line, for the right elbows and right feet of the more advanced are hidden by those which are shown behind them, and the left hands of the latter partly hide the former—a convention of perspective adopted freely by Egyptian artists also, and repeated in an inner gallery which has yet to be described. This group completes the series of sculptures on the left.[1]

The figures in the opposed series on the right are less numerous, and being for the most part like one another, are more readily described. The figures are twenty-two in number, of which only two are male; they are represented likewise in procession, but approaching in the opposite direction with their faces turned consequently to the observer's left. The leading figure, which is opposed to the godlike figure just described, is likewise of majestic stature. She stands upon the back of a lioness, which in turn is poised upon four low flat-topped pedestals (or 'mountains'). She is clad in a long pleated skirt with train and waistbelt; the upper part of the body seems to be bare or clothed in a tight-fitting garment, and the female breast is suggested in the fullness of the bust below the outstretched arm. Her head-dress is the 'mural crown,' an upright flat-topped bonnet with vertical supports.[1] Her long plait of hair and turned-up shoes are conspicuous. Both arms are forward; with her left hand she holds a long staff on which she partly leans, and with her right she proffers certain special emblems,[2] which almost touch those held out by the male figure approaching her. Completing the balance of composition, the forepart of a goat with a conical cap protrudes, as has been already mentioned, from behind her dress.

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[1] A schedule of the figures with our reference numbers may be of use
LEFT.
1 L. One standing on two others, bearded and exalted. Pl. XXII.
2, 3. Two others, younger, on pinnacles.
4. One similar, but not raised aloft.
5. One winged.
6, 7. Two females as a group. Pl. XXIII.
8. A second winged.
9. One with lituus and toga; winged rosette above (cf. 22 R.).
10-13. Four with scimitars, of which one is winged. Pl. XXIV.
14, 15. Two monsters as a group.
16-18. Three with scimitars.
19-20. Two with maces like the leaders.
21. One with arms and hat forward.
22. One with mace.
23, 24. Two with no weapons visible.
25. One with mace.
26-27. Two with arms and hat forward.
28. One indistinct (tunic and hat).
29-31. Three robed and bearded.
32-43. Twelve in line, running or dancing. (Cf. Pl. XXIII.)

RIGHT.
1 R. One female on back of lioness. Pl. XXII.
2. One youthful male with double axe.
3, 4. Two similar to first, forming a group on double eagle.
5-21. Seventeen in procession resembling 1 R. (Pl. XXIV.).
22 R = 65. One with lituus, toga, and winged rosette, etc., in hand, standing on two stony mounds (fig. 6, p. 106).

The figure that follows, though smaller, is not less striking and instructive. It represents a boy or beardless man, with curling pigtail, in the now familiar costume, consisting of short tunic, shoes with toes upturned, and a conical fluted hat. He also stands upon the back of a lioness, which differs only from the former in the position of its tail, which is erect while the other droops.[3] With his outstretched right hand he clasps the upper end of a staff, and in his left he holds an axe with double head,[4] the cutting edges of which are curved. A short dagger with semicircular handle hangs by the belt, but is worn in this case on the right side, doubtless at the discretion of the artist, so as to avoid breaking the contour of the figure. The symbol which seems to denote his name comprises the lower part (body and legs) of a small being clad in the same fashion as the figure itself, under the usual emblem, a divided oval. Behind are two female figures, which in all respects resemble the leader of this series, except that they are smaller, and that the emblems above their right hands differ. These sculptures are comparatively well preserved, being in a corner sheltered somewhat from the weather. Their headgear, staves, long plaits (or shawls) down their backs, and turned-up shoes, are particularly clear. They form a pair, standing as though supported by a double-headed eagle with outspread wings.[1] The heads of the eagle face in opposite directions, and the wings, which are turned upwards towards the tips, are represented, as in a previous case, by lateral lines bound by vertical bands on each side. An interesting addition to the design is in the horseshoe-shaped device,[2] only the ends of which, however, are seen, as though placed over the back behind the wings: they descend as a thin line on each side of the body and curl outwards at the level of the top of the legs. The legs of the eagle are wide apart, and the talons are shown as if resting on something flat which is not, however, represented.[3] This completes the sculptures on the short end wall. The figures which follow, as far as the twenty-first, are nearly alike, and closely resemble the female figures just described. They all stand, however, on the level; their left hands are upraised towards the face, and the staff which seems to be held by their right hands is clearly seen to curve away towards the top. The eighteenth figure is distinguished by obliquity of the pleats in the skirt, but it falls none the less naturally into the series. It may be said also that in not one of these figures is there clear proof preserved that earrings were worn, though the suggestion is present in several cases. Their height averages two feet eight inches. Two are found in the recess formed by the return of the wall to the right, and there is space for a third on the weathered surface of the rock. Seven others follow in a somewhat irregular line, which is broken by a small gap in which one more is found. Two follow on a slight projection, and seven others along the receding wall bring the series to an end.

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[1] See the photograph, Pl. XXII. The head-dress was commonly employed by the Phrygian women. Its shape is recalled by the modern hat of the Turkoman women, which is worn covered by a shawl to serve at times as a veil.

[2] These emblems are composed in each case of pictorial or hieroglyphic signs, and in them doubtless lies the clue to the identification of the figures. A sign like a divided oval (which Professor Sayce believes to represent a sacred stone) is found at the commencement of each group accompanying a divine or exalted personage.

[3] A similar detail is noticeable on a familiar Etruscan design.

[4] Cf. the sculpture from Sinjerli, Pl. XLIV. See also p. 180.

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[1] Cf. the sculpture at Eyuk, Pl. XXIX.

[2] Cf. a similar detail ornamenting the emblem above figs. No. 9 L. and 22 R. (Pl. XXIV. and fig. 6).

[3] At Eyuk they clutch hares; see p. 143.

The twenty-second figure is quite different, and worthy of special study. It is of much greater size, being eight feet high, and it stands alone on the inner face of a projection in the rock, thus facing the innermost portion of the enclosure where the two processions meet. In it we see again upon a larger scale the details of costume, with toga, skull-cap, and tip-tilted shoes, which we have already noticed in connection with the ninth figure on the left, only in this case the figure faces to the observer's left; the left arm is thus the one that is sleeved, and the loose end of the robe hangs over the right shoulder, reaching almost to the ground and ending possibly in a tassel. The dirk is by the right side, and the reversed lituus is grasped in the left hand, which is raised to hold it. The cap has three bands round the edge; a pigtail is possible but doubtful. The feet rest on two

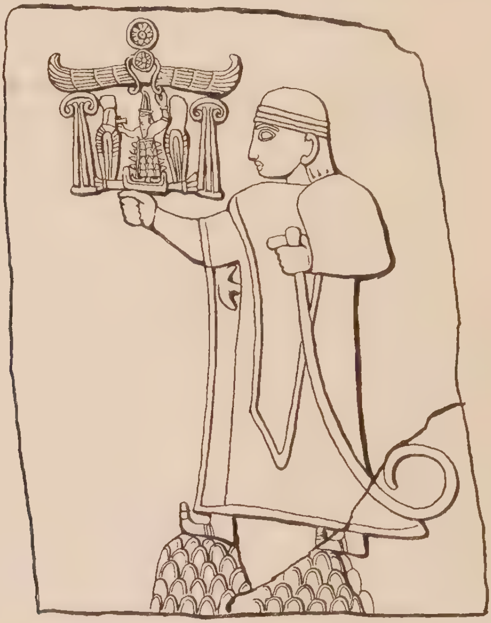

Fig. 6.—The Priest-King (No. 22 R.).
(*See p.* 111.)

rounded pedestals with scale-like surfaces;[1] and the extended right hand supports a series of emblems.[2] These form a somewhat complicated group; in the middle of it there is a small bearded figure wearing a conical ribbed hat which tilts forward at the top, and clad in a long robe decorated with scale-like pattern. At the sides are four protrusions which are difficult to explain.[3] This little figure rests upon what resembles a Hittite shoe, the toe of which is prominently upturned. Its left hand is upraised above the head, and the right arm is outstretched. The outside elements of this emblem are tapering fluted columns capped by Ionic volutes; between these and the figure a third device intervenes on each side, consisting possibly of a dirk with its point resting in a quiver. The whole is covered by a device in which a 'rosette' resting inside a crescent is encircled by a horseshoe-shaped object, and borne on a pair of outspread wings as previously described. A larger and apparently more elaborate 'rosette' or solar emblem appears above the other. This or a similar figure, we shall find, recurs once more in the adjoining gallery.

On the opposite side of the same projection of rock, and therefore facing to the south, exactly where we have defined the entrance, there is carved a group of two interesting figures,[4] difficult to trace on the weather-beaten rock. By examining these in various lights, particularly in the early morning and again in the early afternoon, it is possible to make out that the group consists of two females or robed figures seated at opposite sides of a table engaged in a ceremonial feast such as we shall find illustrated plentifully by examples from other sites.[5] On one of the figures at least there is the suggestion of a plait of hair or shawl thrown back. The chair on which she sits seems to be solid. Certain emblems accompanied each figure, but these cannot now be identified, except the oval emblem of sanctity or divinity which surmounts each group.

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[1] Clearly stony hilltops, as on the gates of Balawat.

[2] Arranged, as Professor Ramsay suggests (*Luke the Physician*, p. 212), to resemble a *ναΐσκος*.

[3] Possibly, suggests Professor Sayce, a sort of fringe.

[4] Nos. 66-7. The presence of sculptures at the spot was noted by Perrot and Chipiez.

[5] *E.g.* Yarre, p. 148; Marash, p. 224; Sinjerli, p. 250; Sakje-Geuzi, p. 310.

On the next bend of the wall, some six yards distant, and thus really outside the main chamber, are to be seen two monstrous winged figures just over three feet high. They face one another on opposite sides of a narrow rift in the rock, which seems to have been the ancient approach to an inner sanctuary adorned also with a series of sculptures. That on the left hand[1] presents most detail. The body and limbs are human, but the head is that of a lion, and two short wings are added behind, of which the right is slightly raised and the left hangs down. The hands are raised one on each side of the head, and the fingers are extended like claws, adding menace to the threatening aspect of the jaws, as in warning to those who dared to approach the entrance over which it watched. A short tunic tied across the waist reaches barely to the knees, and around the lower edges a broad fringe may be traced. The upper part of the body seems also to be clad in a garment fastened down the front. The carving of the companion figure,[2] on the opposite side, seems hardly to have been completed in detail, though it reproduces in general the design and appearance of the former.

The entrance which these creatures guard is now closed by fallen stones, and access to the interior is gained further to the right by climbing over stones and rubbish at a place which would seem to have been originally closed. On entering from this end we find ourselves in a narrow gallery between vertical walls of rock, which open out slightly as we advance. By the original entrance, however, the approach would be from the broader end.[3] On the west side there are carved twelve male figures[4] side by side, resembling the group of moving figures in the main chamber already described.[5] In this case, however, the sculptures had become covered with earth, and it was only in recent times that they were disinterred, so that they remain in relatively good preservation.[6] The action and attitude of the figures suggests a quick march in line. The costume and details in each case are the same, and have already become familiar. Each wears a short tunic with a fold in front, a

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[1] No. 68.

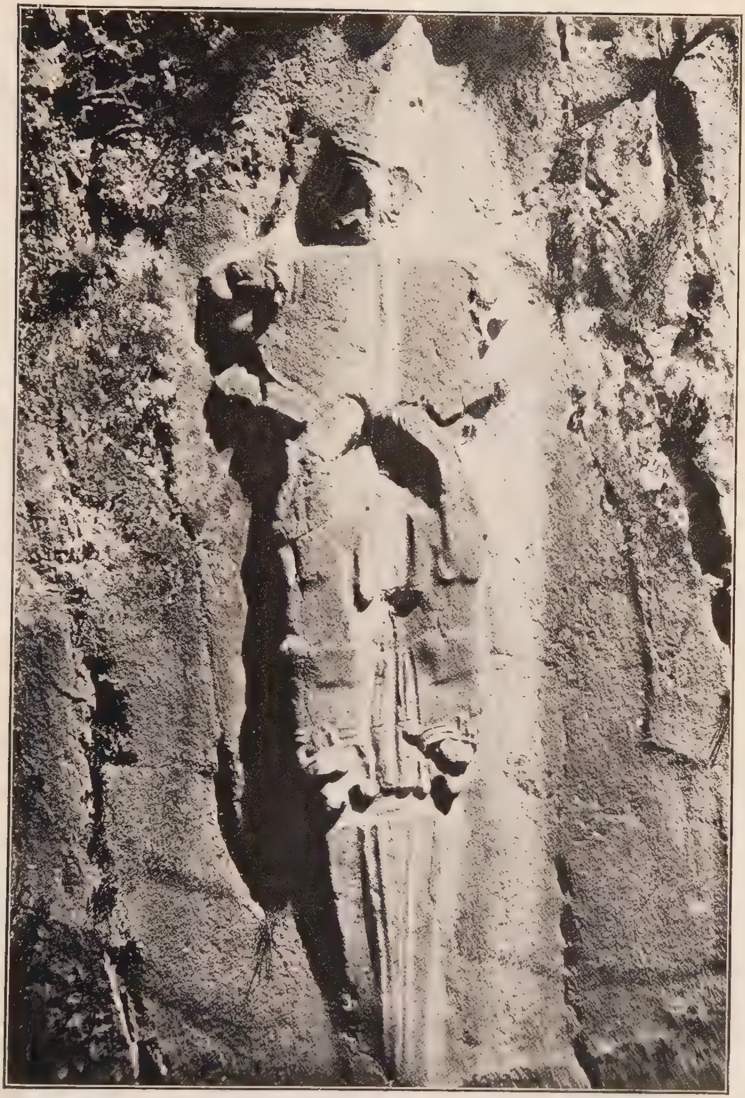
[2] No. 69.

[3] The broad end is not altogether enclosed, but leads to rocky broken ground.

[4] Nos. 70-81.

[5] Nos. 32-43 L.

[6] Pl. XXIII. (*b*).



BOGHAZ-KEUI: THE DIRK-DEITY, CLAD IN LION SKINS.
In the small gallery at Iasily Kaya.

belt around the waist, shoes with upturned toes, conical ribbed hats with brim, and a horn-like emblem attached to the front. The earring is plain in several cases. The left arm is forward and turned up at the elbow, the hand being empty. The right hand holds a weapon like a sickle, which rests upon the shoulder, the curved part of the blade being upwards. The form is very nearly that of the sacred *khopesh* of Egypt.[1] The figures are not unnaturally stolid, but the faces are heavy and the nose and lips thick, though not protrusive.

On the opposite wall are two important sculptures, facing in the same sense. The front one [2] is generally regarded as an heraldic figure. It is very tall, about eleven feet in height. The upper part is the body of a man, facing to the right, and wearing the conical hat with ribs and rings. He is represented as clad in lion-skins, two of which hang from the shoulders, the heads facing outwards and replacing the arms, which are not visible or suggested. The other pair hang downwards from the waist, each suspended by one foot, their other hind-legs being drawn under the bodies and approaching close to one another. The heads of the lions reach with the fore-paws to the approximate level of knees. Possibly the whole body should be regarded as composed of lions in combination, replacing altogether the human body, while reproducing the same outline. Below the knees the legs are replaced by a device which may be taken for the tapering point of a great dagger or dirk with midrib. The figure has no visible frame.

We come now to the last sculptures of the series, which form a group of two figures.[3] The one is great and majestic, resembling on a large scale in most details the youthful figure that stands upon the lioness in the main series.[4] As in other cases that have been noted, the conical hat is decorated with rings, but here these appear more prominent and seem not to lie wholly between the ribs, but to be bisected by them. The double axe is not found in this group, for the left hand of the personage in this case grasps the upraised right wrist of a smaller figure, which his left arm enfolds about the neck. This smaller figure is in all respects similar to that which we have met with twice previously in the outer chamber,[1] clad in the toga as before, and carrying the lituus reversed in the hand which is free. The curled end of a pigtail is seen behind his shoulder, but this may be judged to belong to the larger figure. Both figures are identified by the emblems which accompany them: the greater by the device of a small body and legs, held up as in its counterpart by the outstretched right hand; the smaller one by the composite group placed in the bare space above his head to the right. This is the same as that previously described,[2] except for the small central figure which is here replaced by a different symbol, thought by some to be a phallus. Surmounting the *naiskos* there appears as before a solar disc with wings.

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[1] Cf. the weapon carried by the men on the Phaestus cup.

[2] No. 72.

[3] Nos. 73, 74.

[4] No. 2 R.

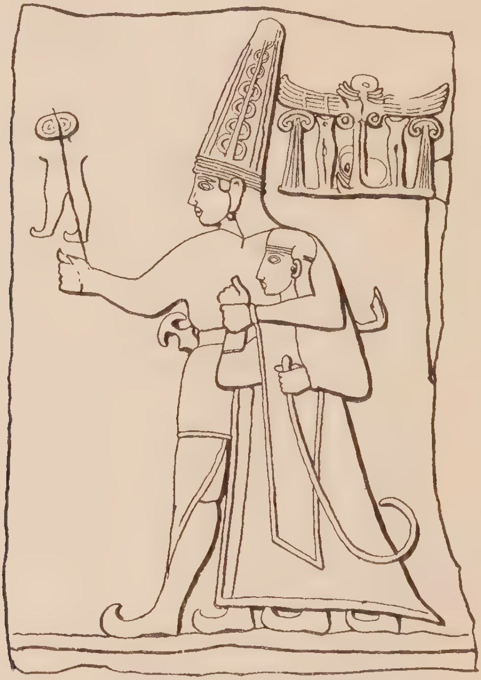

Fig. 7.—The Priest-King in the Embrace of the Youthful God.

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[1] Nos. 22 R., 9 L.

[2] No. 22 R.

So many and so various are the hypotheses that have been put forward as to the meaning of these sculptures,[1] that it will prove less confusing perhaps to regard them entirely *de novo*. We are the more constrained to do so, in that the attention of scholars has been largely focussed on the identification of the deities in the central group, without much consideration of the series as a whole, or its relation to *Ḫattusas* and the Hittite peoples. It seems to us that the whole series must from its composition illustrate one central idea, on which any explanation of individual figures should throw some light. For this reason, we have avoided hitherto in our description of the sculptures any use of terms, or individual identifications, that might prejudice our explanation of the whole.

Looking broadly at the sculptures, it is clear that certain of the figures, notably those with wings, are intended to represent divinities. The exalted figures, then, which are placed at the head of the processions must also be those of gods, presumably of the leading Hittite deities. If, however, this be so, where stands the king, under whose direction these sculptures were made, and whose figure on the analogy of all the commemorative sculptures of the ancient East should occupy a place and rank second only to the gods? On the main façade he finds no place, for the attendant figures in each are in pairs, and the youth who follows the leading goddess to the right shows none of the attributes of royalty, but seems to be grouped naturally with his leader. Looking around, we find facing this scene the majestic figure clad in a toga,[2] accompanied by a whole group of emblems which indicate his rank. He stands alone, exalted and distinguished, yet following as it were in the train of the goddess. In the inner gallery he is embraced by the godlike figure of the same youthful deity who, in the outer gallery, accompanies and follows the goddess; and we are reminded of the Egyptian text which describes the design upon the royal signet attached to the treaty as the representation of the god of the Hittites embracing their king.[1] It may be argued, however, that the group of emblems associated with this personage, though varying in detail, comprises in all cases the winged disc, the emblem of a Sun-god. But the only solar deity in the central Hittite pantheon was the Goddess of *Arinna*, whose priestess was the queen, while in numerous documents the king himself is proclaimed the Sun; and we are drawn again towards the same conclusion as before, that this person represents the king. But it may be urged, again, that his costume and the emblems in his hand are those of the priesthood, and not without reason; the toga-like robe and the curving lituus-like staff indicate the priestly office wheresoever they are found. Such a personage is seen ministering before the altar on the two sculptured blocks discovered at Boghaz-Keui at the foot of the acropolis,[2] another appears without insignia as leading in the act of sacrifice before the neighbouring bull-shrine at Eyuk;[3] and other examples will be found upon the monuments of more distant sites.[4] Now the treaty we have mentioned informs us that the great king of the Hittites was also chief priest of the gods, and numerous documents found among the archives now confirm this statement. The priest-king was indeed a feature of Hittite national life, and in this light we are able to interpret also their monuments beyond the Taurus. We are led then to conclude that in the majestic figure before us we have both chief priest and king; and that the leading figures of the two long processions represent a leading god and goddess. The problem is now much simplified. Those figures which are clad like their leaders, whether male or female, and distinguished by the same symbol (the divided oval) are to be regarded as representations of other deities of like kind; while figures clad in the toga-like robe and bearing the lituus must be those of priests or priestly kings.

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[1] See particularly Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii. pp. 149-53; Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, ch. vi.; and *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xv., New Series (1885), pp. 113-20; Hamilton, *Researches*, etc. (i.) p. 394; and for an illuminative anthropological point of view, Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris* (*The Golden Bough*, iv., 2nd ed.), bk. I. ch. vi., § 4, pp. 105-10.

[2] No. 22 R.

At the risk of making a slight digression, it will be well at this stage of our argument to recall certain facts, the appreciation of which seems to us fundamental to a correct interpretation of these sculptures. Briefly put, these are: that Boghaz-Keui marks the site of the Hittite capital at the time of the greatest Hittite extension (in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.); that the constitution of the Hittite power at this time was a confederacy of states from both sides of the Taurus; and that the sanctuary of Iasily Kaya was contemporary with this period. Now the divinities pictured in these sculptures are too numerous, and they too much resemble one another for them all to represent only local deities or even local versions of a common type. Moreover the scene depicted is unique in Hittite art, both as regards the character and the number of the deities assembled. We might safely conclude without further evidence that the assemblage is chiefly that of the gods and goddesses of a common cycle from the kindred Hittite states, accompanied in some cases by their respective priests and priestesses. That this deduction is correct seems to be supported by the observed fact that in both processions there are to be recognised divinities from Hittite sites elsewhere; on the left the winged deity from Malatia, and on the right the goddesses of the Double Eagle from Eyuk. It was an 'Assembly of all the Gods.'[1] Again, having due regard to the position of the states, each ruled by its own king or priest-king and separated from its neighbour by the nature of the country, developing its own customs, ritual and institutions in partial isolation, it is to be expected that any national deity would be represented at the local shrines by peculiar versions, endowed possibly with special attributes and name. Now the national god of the Hittites, and in particular of Ḫatti, was Teshub, a storm-god.[2] Numerous shrines of the god are known, some from the monuments,[3] and a greater number from the records. The Egyptian treaty mentions ten, of which those of *Ḫatti*, *Arinna*, *Ḫalab*, *Sarissa* and Samosata may be localised. The treaty with Mitanni, of earlier date,[1] mentions no less than twelve, adding *Ḫurma* and *Uda* (possibly Urima and Hyde) to the list. A special Hittite document gives a list of twelve shrines with an inventory of their furniture and treasure, adding fresh names to the list, including *Maliyas* and *Marash*.[2] It is clear, then, that among the Hittite states, and under Ḫattic control, were numerous shrines of the god Teshub, in addition to that of Ḫatti wherein he was the paramount deity. Now in this sanctuary there are representations of seventeen personages all similar to the leading god,[3] who is further distinguished here as elsewhere by the trident[4] in his hand as the Storm-god, and is therefore certainly a Teshub. Whether he be 'Teshub, Lord of the Sky,' the leading national god, or 'Teshub, Lord of Ḫatti,' we are unable to decide, but we incline to regard the bearded deity as the national Teshub, the lord of Heaven, the prototype of Zeus; and the beardless warrior god who follows with a sword to be the more local Teshub of Ḫatti.[5] The remaining figures of similar deities represent then the other Teshub deities of the Hittite confederated states.

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[1] The treaty of Ramses II. with Ḫattusil (Breasted, *A.R.*, iii. 373). This analogy was first pointed out by the late De Cara, *Gli Hethei Pelasgi* (Rome, 1894), i. p. 192.

[2] Winckler, *Report cit.*, pp. 57-8; above, p. 91.

[3] Cf. below, p. 134 and fig. 8.

[4] Below, p. 203 and Pl. XXXVIII.

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[1] This expression seems, though doubtfully, to translate the textual description of a national rite at which it was prescribed that the king should officiate in person as high priest. Cf. 6 *K.U.B.* 45, also Witzel, *Heth. Keils.-Urkunden*, pp. 86 ff.

[2] Treaty with Hattusil, *temp.* Ramses II. Cf. *J.E.A.*, 1920, p. 194. Attributes of Teshub derived from the Hittite texts are: Lord of the Sky, Lord of Ḫatti, Lord of Trade, Lord of the Camp, Lord of Relief, Lord of Mounds (*A.J.S.L.*, 1921, p. 169). He is also the Powerful (*H.K.B.*, p. 175, l. 39).

[3] See p. 206, fig. 17, and Pl. XLV.

Turning now to the leading sculptures on the right, the goddess and the youth who ride the backs of lionesses, we may readily recognise these as prototypes of the great Mother-goddess (Ma) of Asia Minor and her son, identified on the one hand with the later Cybele and Attis, and on the other with Istar and Tammuz of the Semitic world. The leading goddess of Ḫatti is in fact called by the name Astarte in the Egyptian treaty. This identification, accepted almost unanimously by scholars, suggests again the national character of the leaders in the procession, for the cult of the Nature-goddess was common to the whole Hittite area, as indeed throughout Western Asia. Her association with the lioness is familiar in her many guises, as for instance in Phrygia, where she rides in a lion-drawn car. Doubtless in the Lion-goddess accompanied by the Lion-son there is a reminiscence of some primitive worship, the origins of which perhaps were already lost to view. The Lion pair is followed by the twin deities of the Double Eagle, both goddesses.[1] The significance of the double-headed eagle is unknown. But that there was a local worship associated with the eagle is indicated alike by the discovery at Boghaz-Keui of a sculptured head of this bird, in black stone, larger than natural size,[2] and by a cuneiform fragment from the same site, on which mention is made in ideographic writing of the house or temple of the eagle.[3] That such a cult was practised generally within the circuit of the HALYS is suggested by the great monument which now lies prone in a wild spot overlooking the river near to Yamoola, and by various smaller objects.[4] At Eyuk also there is a conspicuous though partly defaced representation of a priest of the Double Eagle, on a sphinx-jamb of the palace gateway, a symbolism which we read to imply that the occupant of the palace was here, too, chief priest of the cult.

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[1] *Temp.* Subbiluliuma. Cf. *J.S.L.*, 1921, p. 169.

[2] Possibly, but not certainly Malatia and Marash. Cf. *H.K.B.*, pp. 21, l. 26, and 7, l. 28.

[3] As seen to-day, and owing possibly to the weathering of the rock, only some six or seven of these are distinguished by the special emblem of sanctity or divinity.

[4] Cf. Pl. xlv. and p. 203.

[5] Compare these with the sculptures of Giaour Kalesi (below, pp. 145 ff.).

The train which follows in the wake of the goddess is composed of females similarly robed, many of whom are denoted by special symbols.[5] In these we may see in like manner local versions of the Mother-goddess accompanied by priestesses of the cult, wearing the dress and simulating the persons of the divinities.[6] In this case we are not helped much by the new records, for the various goddesses are freely accorded separate names corresponding to their localities. Finally in the background on the left there comes the group of moving beings, which alone tells us that the scene which we are looking on is but the picture of a rite, in which the populace or temple servants are taking part.[7]

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[1] Incidentally it is of interest to note that an eagle was associated with the rites of Sandon of Tarsus, identified with the Son-god, who here precedes the eagle-deities. Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[2] Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum, No. 977.

[3] Letter from Professor A. H. Sayce, July 23, 1909.

[4] P. 122. Other examples are recorded from Bulumashlu (Von der Osten, *op. cit.*, p. 33) and from Aleppo (Hogarth, *Liv. A.A.*, 1909, Pl. XLII.).

[5] We do not deal with these symbols in detail; they present special pitfalls to attempts at explanation. It is interesting to note, however, that such priests and priestesses commonly received a special sacred name as a mark of their office. Cf. Herodotus, i. 199; Strabo, XVI. i. 20.

[6] Cf. Ramsay, *Recueil de Travaux*, xv. (1890), p. 78, on the priest-classes of Asia Minor.

[7] Cf. Strabo on the rites at Comana, XII. xi. 3.

What then is this rite? In the central group are the images of male and female deities, accompanied by a youth, Nature's divine triad, and there can be little doubt as to the chief motive of the ceremony. The scene is that of a Divine Marriage represented as a national religious ceremony at which were present the local deities of the chief states or the personages representing them, in some cases with their ministers. In this ceremony the image of Teshub, the national god, was borne upon the shoulders of his priests[1] to the shrine of the Mother-goddess in the great sanctuary of the capital. Its objective doubtless was that the earth should be fertile and yield her produce, that the fruits should ripen and the ears of corn grow fat.[2] The wedding was celebrated with dancing, such as has accompanied marriage ceremonies through all time. As to the season when this ceremony took place, there is no definite suggestion. The spring-time would seem most appropriate; but if the grotesque figures in the left-hand series[3] really stand upon a wine-press, and if the group of men[4] on the same side hold sickles in their hands, then the harvest and vintage seasons are indicated. On the other hand, the ceremony may have been adapted to some great date of the Hittite calendar.

Passing now to the inner sanctuary we find ourselves face to face with new mysteries. The group of figures on the left is clearly a counterpart to those depicted in the outer chambers, suggesting the ceremonies in the act. But on the opposite side the two separate sculptures are of new and independent character. In the one is seen the dirk-deity enfolded in lion-skins; in the other the youthful god, now assuming a greater dignity, embraces the king. It has been suggested, with much apparent reason, that the symbolism may be interpreted to mean that the priest-king or his representative is gently guided by the deity 'through the valley of the shadow of death' to sacrifice.[5] But we know of no parallel for such symbolism in Oriental sculptures, and we prefer to see in this inner chamber merely a special sanctuary of the youthful god, with images pertaining to his cult. In the one the king is received as high priest into the presence and embrace of the god. We have already seen that such an action in itself was deemed of so great moment that it formed the subject of the royal signet. Thereby, maybe, the king became invested with sanctity of person; in any case, his privilege of access to the god is recognised. In the other sculpture, in our opinion, we see the god once more, but in another guise, and identified with a special cult, associated widely with his rites,—namely, that of a sacred dirk.[1] That such a cult has some original reference to sacrifice or emasculation we cannot doubt. Whatever may be the precise explanation of these details, we see, in this inner chamber, a separate shrine of the Son-god, to which the king had access, by virtue of his office as high priest; while we regard the outer recess as a shrine of the Mother-goddess, adopted under Ḫattic rule for the special ceremonial depicted upon its rocky walls, the marriage of the goddess of the land with the chief Ḫattic god.

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[1] Cf. the rites at Comana (Pontus), Strabo, XII. iii. 32; and in the temple of Mabog, Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, § 36.

[2] The leading elements in the religion and much of the symbolism find remarkable analogy among the North American Indians. For a full insight into these cults of the Nature-goddess, see Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 110.

[3] Nos. 14, 15.

[4] Nos. 32-43.

[5] Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

These conclusions, though they explain the identity of the chief divinities and the nature of the rite, do not give complete satisfaction, and a further question will probably arise in the reader's mind. What could be the origin of a ceremony so unprecedented and so imposing as that illustrated by these unique rock carvings? Behind the theme of the divine wedding does there not lurk some hidden meaning, a suggestion of the fusing of two religions which reflects the memory of some national crisis? Such a fusion is by no means impossible. Indeed we have no further to look for an example than the cult-conflicts of ancient Greece when the god or goddess of the invading northerners confronted the older deities in their conquered shrines.[2] In the case before us direct evidence is lacking; but it may be significant that while the great Mother-goddess, the primeval deity of Asia Minor, stands with her youthful consort upon the lions of her native highlands, the priestly bearers of the commanding figure who greets her indicate the approach of newcomers, if not of conquerors. We may be tempted to ask whether this extraordinary scene does not record the actual arrival of the Hittite invaders with their chief sky-god Teshub accompanied by the numerous lesser tribal-gods who derived their name and attributes from him. This monument will then bear witness to a pact not only religious but political; and it is interesting to note that the curious scene in the inner chamber then becomes explicable. There the Ḫattic king is depicted in the embrace, not of his own god Teshub, but of the son-consort of the aboriginal goddess.[1] The symbolism of the act becomes pregnant with meaning, if we read this also as a memorial of alliance and a further effort to uphold the dignity of the older gods.

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[1] Cf. *Sculpture of Marash*, p. 110, also the translations of Professor Sayce, *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1904-5.

[2] Cf. Athena and the older god Erechtheus on the Acropolis and (for a still nearer parallel) the *Hieros Gamos* of Zeus, the invader, with the ancient Mother-goddess Hera at Argos.

At first sight then the explanation of these carvings as a record of the original Ḫattic invasions with the fusion of cults that must have followed it, is decidedly attractive. It raises, however, a point of difficulty. The very number of gods and goddesses assembled, and the complexity of their several attributes, suggests rather the meeting of two elaborately organised societies in the act of ratifying a solemn religious and political compact. The date of the sculptures must then be referred to a later and more developed period of Ḫattic history; and the scene must be assumed to represent an alliance formally contracted between the Ḫattic monarch and one or other of the neighbouring kingdoms. The symbolism of the 'sacred marriage' would be still more significant if the betrothal of a foreign princess formed, as so often, the seal of a political covenant. Such a betrothal is, in fact, recorded between Ḫattusil and Putu-Khipa of *Kizzuwadna*, daughter of the priest of Ishtar of *Lawazantiyas*, and herself high priestess of the Sun-goddess of *Arinna*, the foremost deity in the land. The case is singularly apposite. This marriage-alliance followed a succession of crises in the fortunes of Ḫatti which had involved even the evacuation of the capital itself; it may be regarded indeed as having re-established the throne. The unique position accorded to the queen in state-affairs is an indication of the political importance attributable to this union, which formed at the same time a particular instance of a religious alliance of the very character we find so clearly indicated. This royal alliance may well have inspired the main scene depicted on the rocks of Iasily Kaya.

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[1] It is possible also that there survives in the traditions of Lydia, which will be considered in due course (below, pp. 174 ff.), a historical reminiscence of one such momentous episode, when, in the infancy of that nation, the worshippers of the Mother-goddess and her son-consort (the Atyadae) were constrained to submit to the dominance of another power, that of the followers of Heracles (the Heracleidae).

CHAPTER VI

MONUMENTS OF THE PLATEAU

(*a*) North-East: The Halys Basin. (*b*) North-West: Basin of the Upper Sangarius. (*c*) South-West: Basin of the Beyshehr Lake and Vicinity. (*d*) South-East: Basin of the Lake Ak Geul.

(*a*) Monuments of the North-East

The Halys Basin

KARABURNA, SUASA, BOGSHE, YAMOOLA: EYUK

It is a singular fact that in the Land of Ḫatti proper no Hittite monuments have been observed other than the notable remains of the capital itself and of the neighbouring palace at Eyuk.[1] There is, however, record of three in the valley of the Halys River, which circumscribes the area, and of a fourth just to the South. We commence with these.

Karaburna lies on the north bank of the Halys River just below Arebsun. Behind the village a steep hill rises about four hundred feet, and is crowned with an ancient fortress. On two sides the wall of rock forms a sufficient defence, but on the West, and particularly on the North, this is more broken, and is supplemented by an artificial wall of rough stonework.[2] In the east side there is a sort of gateway, and below there is an underground passage leading probably to a well.[3] On a shelf of rock to the left of this entrance there is a lengthy Hittite inscription.[4]

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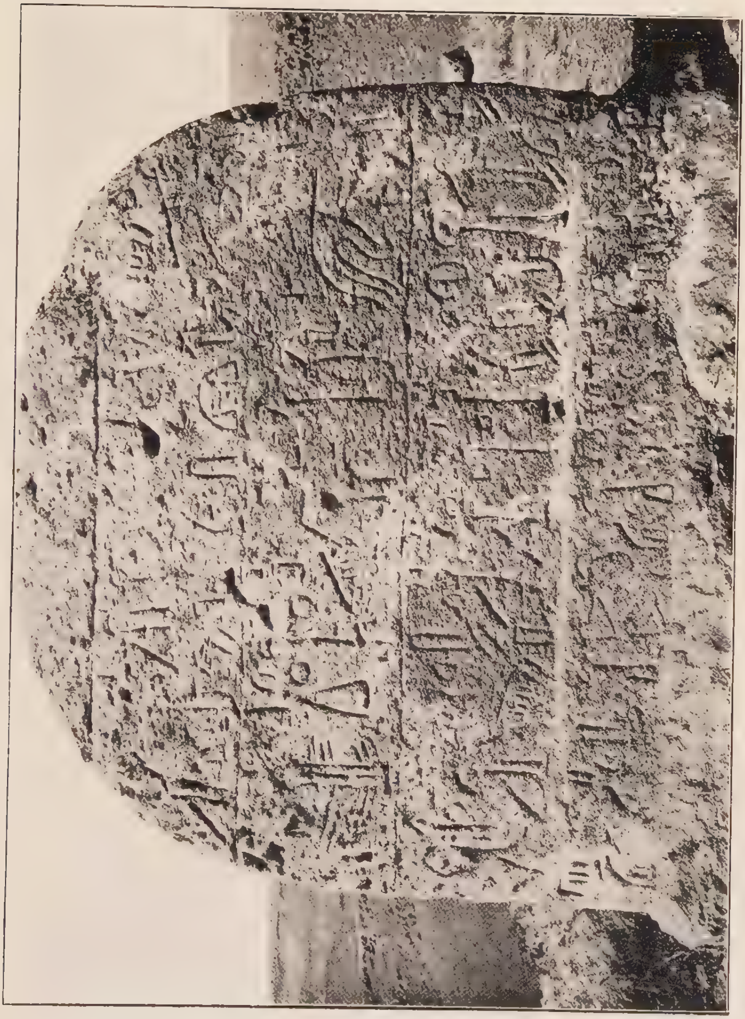
[1] A fragment of hieroglyphic inscription on a stone slab is recently reported from Karga, twenty miles south-east of Yuzgad, where it was observed by the Chicago Expedition, 1928, and was brought to our notice by courtesy of Professor Breasted. To the Halys basin belong also two hieroglyphic inscriptions independently observed by Dr. Forrer and Mr. Von der Osten at Chalap Verde.

[2] See p. 87. Cf. the fortress and inscription of Kara Dagh, below, p. 154.

[3] Cf. *Jour. Hell. Stud.* (1899), pp. 55 ff.

[4] It was discovered by J. G. C. Anderson, and described by him (in the *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xxi. (1901), pp. 328-32) as six miles north-north-west of Tuz Keui, hence is probably the Karapunar of Kiepert's map, and to be distinguished from Karapurna, north-west of Arebsun. See also Sayce, *Proc. S.B.A.* (1905, Nov.), p. 217; *C.I.H.* (1902), Pl. xlvi.

PLATE XXVI



BOGSHE : HITTITE INSCRIPTION INCISED ON FOUR SIDES OF A ROUND-TOPPED STONE.

The surface of the rock is not very smooth, and it was found both worn and covered with lichen. None the less, the discoverer brought back good copies of the inscription. The hieroglyphs are incised, and are arranged in three rows with border and dividing lines. They seem to have filled a space rather more than five feet long and just less than two feet wide. But until the riddle of these inscriptions has been solved, their interest remains chiefly topographical. The position of this one in relation to that of Suasa seems significant, and leads us to speak of the latter at this point.

SUASA stands at the headwaters of a stream which enters the HALYS just above Karaburna, some twenty miles or more southward from the river bed. Here, on a cubical block of stone, similar to many hundreds fallen from the cliff, there has been found an inscription, incised on the front and back.[1] The exposed part of the stone is rather more than three feet wide. The record of the monument is insufficient for us to assign much importance to its apparent details, such as the possible appearance of a winged animal and a fish among the hieroglyphs. That which concerns us most, as in the former case, is the unquestionably Hittite nature of the monument, and the place where it is found. If we are to regard these isolated monuments as general evidence of Hittite routes we may see in this one a suggestion of a road connecting Akserai (GARSAURA) with Karaburna.

BOGSHE lies upon the river bank. There on a slope of high ground overlooking the valley, isolated amid pastures to the west of the village, a unique Hittite monument still stands upon its original pedestal. It is a round-topped single stone, almost exactly four feet wide and three feet high; at the side it narrows from twenty-one inches at the bottom, to eleven and a half inches at the top.[2] It is inscribed on all four sides with incised hieroglyphs, which are arranged in four lines, and commence at the top right hand of the northern face (that is, towards the river). Its nature and situation alike suggest a tribal or village boundary stone, such as we suspect at Geurun and Bulghar-Madên.

YAMOOLA is found some little way farther up the river, after passing the Bir Geuz bridge, upon the northern bank. The village stands on open ground; but, just above, the valley narrows to a gorge, which is practically continuous as far as Chok Geuz Keupri.[1] A pathway follows the river-side for the most part, winding along the narrow strip of soil between the water and the heights which overlook it. Other tracks take the higher ground, but they are rendered difficult by the loose stones that thickly cover the surface, imparting a desolate and wild character to the region. The monument lies about forty minutes' journey above Yamoola, or two and a half hours' journey below Chok Geuz Keupri, upon gently sloping ground near the brink of a steep knoll about five hundred feet above the water. The spot does not command an extensive view of the river, though only a hundred yards away, because of an intervening rise of ground; but a little way up the stream the banks are more gentle, and the water comes into view at a bend. The monument is a gigantic eagle of stone,[2] sculptured in the round. It is carved in one piece with a solid base which is decorated in bold relief on the front and sides with the design of seated lions within panels. The height over all is seven feet. It now lies upon one side, but it would appear that it was originally set up some four or five yards distant on a platform of stones, the front edge of which is slightly raised like a ridge to prevent slipping.[3] The head of this great eagle is unfortunately broken away, and has not been found. Around the neck the feather pattern which covers the body gives way to a hair-like representation, seen as two clusters curling finally towards one another. This may, indeed, be only a method of reproducing the down upon the neck, parallel with the treatment of the legs; on the other hand, hair may be intended, and it is thus possible that the bird was human headed. After consideration of the details, however, we are disposed to believe that the monument was a simple though gigantic eagle, set upon a lion-base. Upon the breast of the bird the plumage is represented by a leaf-like pattern boldly carved in accordance with the great size

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[1] Messerschmidt in Hans Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, pp. 175-9, and figs. 1, 2.

[2] See Pl. XXVI. for our photo of the southern face. Cf. *C.I.H.* (1906), Pl. LI. and pp. 11, 12.

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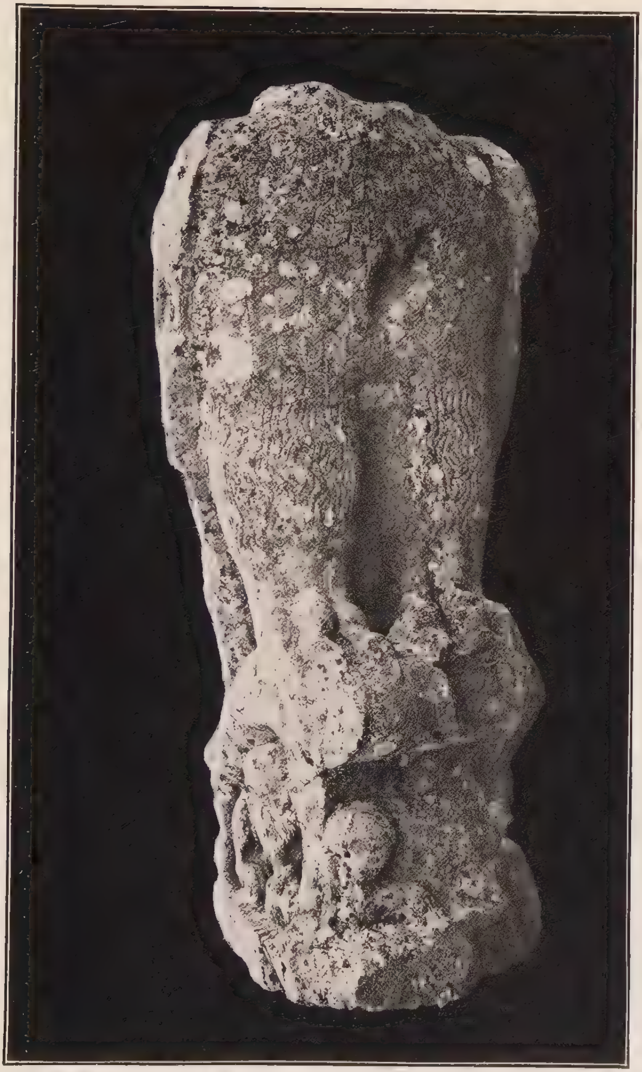
[1] Cf. p. 49 above.

[2] See Pl. XXVII. Cf. Robinson, *Proc. S.B.A.* (1908, Jan.), p. 27 and figs. 1 and 2; and *Liv. A.A.*, i. Pls. VI., VII., and p. 5.

[3] Cf. the constructive details of the Lower Palace at Boghaz-Keui, above, p. 90.



YAMOOLA: GIANT HEADLESS EAGLE STANDING ON A SOLID PEDESTAL SUPPORTED BY LIONS.

The background has been removed.

of the subject. Upon the back this detail is repeated to some extent, but for the most part the work is more conventional, consisting of bands of herring-bone pattern running down the full length of the body, diverging upon the shoulders, and then converging gradually so as to cross towards the tail. The legs are shown covered with down, and the talons are executed with considerable realism. The lower part of this monument has also features of special interest. In each of the two visible panels (hence presumably upon the third) a lion is shown almost crouching, as though supporting the weight upon his back and shoulders. His forequarters are too much raised for an ordinary recumbent position, but otherwise the attitude of these animals is reposeful. The left leg in each case crosses over the right, and the tail curls up from between the legs backward over the thigh. The right side is presented to the observer in each case, and the face looks outwards. The width of the base, excluding the tail, which projects about five inches, is three feet nine inches. Framing the panels in which the lions are shown, and separating the pedestal from the rest of the monument, there appears a wavy ridge of stone which suggests a writhing serpent, somewhat after the style of that seen, in low relief, upon a sculptured building block from Malatia.[1]

We have departed from the strict lines laid down at the outset of our inquiry by including this object, which is uninscribed, and bears no direct evidence of its date or origin. We do so because it may be claimed as Hittite work notwithstanding its unique character and composition. Eagles, in relief and in the round, and lions, are familiar emblems in Hittite religious art, and they are found in association at Boghaz-Keui and Eyuk ;[2] and a fragment of a similar eagle has been observed in the same region at Bulumashlu[3] and as far away as Aleppo.[4] It is, however, noteworthy that the detail of the eagle and other features of the carving are almost identical with the treatment on a piece of sculpture found by the Princeton Expedition at Sardis ;[5] and it remains possible that the monument was set up during the later days of Lydian ascendancy. Historically, however, this would seem less probable. In any case its position near the valley of the river seems suggestive, and we know that rivers were sacred to the Hittite peoples.[1]

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[1] P. 206, fig. 17.

[2] Cf. pp. 105, 143.

[3] By Von der Osten, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[4] Hogarth, *Liv. A.A.*, II. (1909), Pl. XLII. fig. 3.

[5] Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis:—*Sardis I.: The Excavations*, by H. Crosby Butler, pp. 126-7, and figs. 137, 138. Prof. T. Leslie Shear assigns to the group a date earlier than 546 B.C.

Monuments of Eyuk

EYUK.—We come now to the site of Eyuk, the position and communications of which have been described.[2] It lay sufficiently near to have been closely in touch with the activities and culture-progress of the capital, albeit sufficiently far to have maintained some local peculiarities. Here the ruins which we now know to be Hittite were lighted upon by Hamilton,[3] 'the prince of travellers,' in 1835; subsequently they were visited by Barth[4] and Van Lennep.[5] The account of them given by the last-named, who was for thirty years a missionary in Turkey, was the first attempt to hand down a reliable and complete description, accompanied by a rough plan of a building and sketches of the sculptures which adorned its portico. Then came Professor Ramsay, in 1881, and in the record of his visit to these monuments we have the first scholar's impression of their meaning and significance.[6] M. Perrot visited the site and incorporated his notes in his great work on *Exploration Archéologique*,[7] and many inquirers have followed in his wake. The Liverpool Expedition of 1907 called here and secured a complete series of photographs and a measured plan;[8] and subsequently in the same year the Ottoman Government made some useful clearances in front of the now famous portico of sphinxes, adding considerable information, and bringing to light two interesting sculptures which previously had lain buried.[1] The accounts of these various writers, though in the main agreed as to the nature of the ruins, differ to some extent in their description of details, and very considerably in their interpretation of the meaning of the sculptures. This being so, we shall use our own notes and plans as the basis of our description, indicating so far as possible the places where we differ in our interpretation from one or other of the more recent investigators. In the plan, also, we shall omit the present position of those sculptured blocks no longer *in situ*, but of which the original position can be inferred, because they have been constantly moved in recent years, leading to discrepancies in successive published plans. We shall also for the same reason use letters instead of figures to denote the blocks, in order to avoid further confusion with the various published classifications and enumerations.

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[1] In the mythology of the North American Indians, the eagle represents the intermediary between the Earth and the Sky. The serpent symbolises the Earth. In this case the presence of the river (the gift of the Sky-god) and of the lion (emblem of the Earth Mother), completes a suggestive combination.

[2] P. 71 f.

[3] *Researches in Asia Minor*, etc. (London, 1842), i. pp. 382-3.

[4] *Reise von Trapesunt nach Scutari*, pp. 42 and 43; also *Ueber die Ruinen bei Hejuk* (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1859, pp. 50, 59).

[5] *Travels in Little-known Parts of Asia Minor* (London, 1870), pp. 129-48.

[6] Ramsay on *The Early Historical Relations of Phrygia and Cappadocia*, Pt. 11 (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, xv., London, 1883), p. 116.

[7] Also Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, vol. ii. pp. 153-8.

[8] *Liv. A.A.*, i. (1908), p. 3, and Pls. II. and III.

The mound which the little hamlet of Eyuk just covers is more or less quadrangular in shape, with rounding corners; its length from north to south is about 250 yards, and its width a little more. It is not prominent as one approaches from Boghaz-Keui, as it rises gently from the plain on that side, attaining its greatest height of forty to forty-five feet towards its northern limits, whence it gives way again somewhat steeply to the level ground. The background on this side is a range of low hills, from which, however, the mound is quite distinct. Traces of a wall enclosing the top of the mound may be seen here and there, and would be readily followed out by excavation. Near the northern brink the masonry is visible inside a stable with a low-lying floor; in fact, the new wall has partly used the old one for a foundation. It is generally similar in construction to some of the roughly polygonal masonry seen in some interior walls at Boghaz-Keui, like that which surrounds Beuyuk Kaleh. Hereabouts also a postern-way is reported, constructed entirely like that on the south slope of the acropolis at Boghaz-Keui, roofed with corbelled masonry, and sufficiently high for a man to walk through it upright. It can be followed in a southerly direction for some fifteen yards, when it turns abruptly westwards and so continues for six or seven yards.[1] In the ridge of the roof there may be noted a flat slab of stone perforated with a circular hole, as for the admission of light, or the drainage of water. We are not told to what depth the roof is now buried beneath the surface. About twenty yards westward from this spot, on the mound, there are a number of dressed blocks of stone, one of which at least has a rounded hole in one face, a feature noticeable in several instances at Boghaz-Keui.

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[1] Macridy Bey, *La porte des sphinx à Euyuk* (*Mitt. d. Vorderas. Ges.*, 1908, 3).

From these general indications of an ancient walled town[2] we pass to the more famous sculptures, which are found on the lowest part of the mound towards the south-east, about twenty yards only from the cultivated plain. These decorated the lowest course of the façade of a gateway which in plan resembles closely that of the Lion-gate on the acropolis at Boghaz-Keui. This plan is shown to scale on the opposite page, so that we do not need to give detailed measurements of the blocks where the arrangement involves no reconstruction. Fortunately, though exposed for long ages, the alignment of the stones remains almost intact, so that the plan of this interesting gateway may be determined without much difficulty. It remains also unique hitherto among Hittite works of Asia Minor.

As in the Lion-gate at Boghaz-Keui this entrance has an outer and an inner doorway. The nearer one lies back from the frontage of the main wall a distance of just over thirteen feet. The width between the corners of the approach (E, G), making allowance for a slight displacement of the corner-stones, is almost exactly twenty feet: this is reduced between the great monoliths which form the jambs to a few inches over eleven feet. The interval between the faces of the outer and inner monoliths on either side is about twenty-six feet, which must have been approximately the distance

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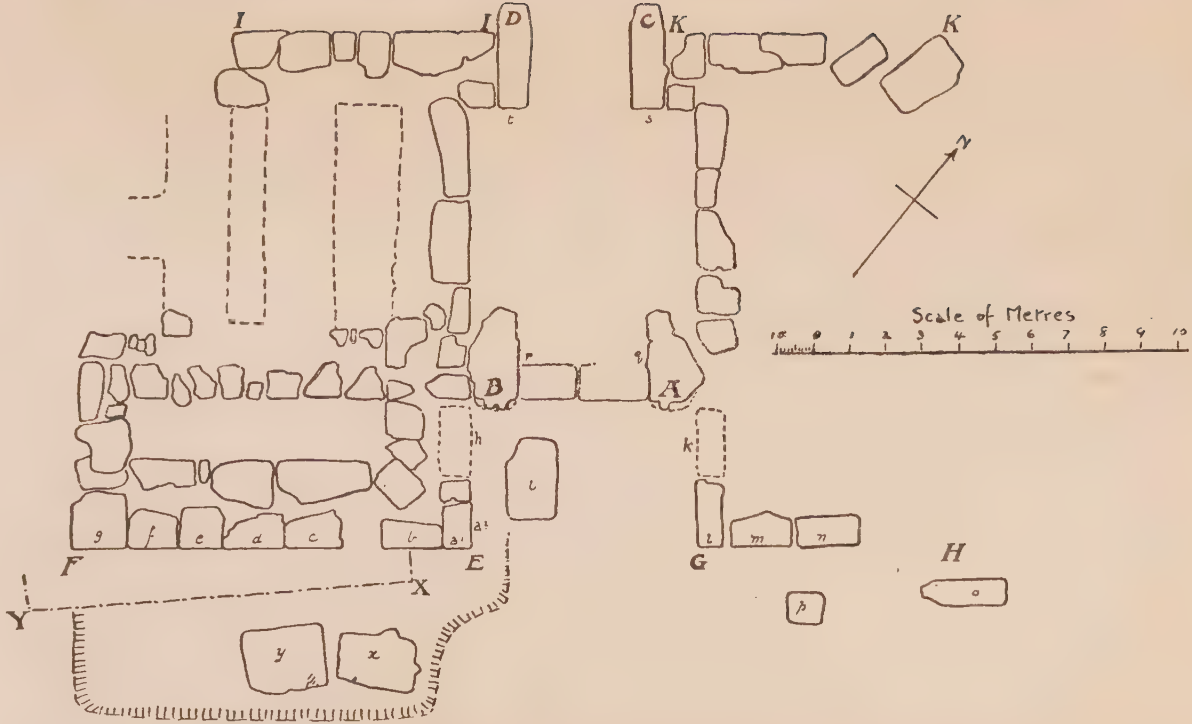
[1] First noticed by Macridy Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[2] A town TEIRIA, of the 'Leuco-Syrians,' is mentioned by Hecataeus of MILETUS (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller-Didot, No. 194). M. Maspero inclined to the identification of this place with Eyuk (*The Passing of Empires*, p. 338). We are not without suspicion that this royal enclosure of Hittite times, which resembles in its main features that of Sakje-Geuzi (p. 265), may prove to have been a residence of the Ḫattic kings. It is noticeable in many texts that after successful campaigns the leading generals despatched their booty and prisoners to *ḪATTUSAS*, while the king frequently sent his to the royal house. Cf. Mursil's campaigns, Hrozný, 3 *Bo. Stu.*, No. 6, p. 207, ll. 52, 53.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Plan of the Sphinx-Gate at Eyuk

References—A, B, C, D, sculptured monoliths forming the jambs of the two gates; E, F, G, H, line of the outer wall; II, KK, line of the inner return; X, Y, ends of a lower wall; *a-g*, *l-n*, sculptured blocks forming the lowest course of the wall on either side of the approach; *h*, *i*, *k*, *o*, *p*, sculptured blocks not *in situ*, of which the place of *h* and *k* is ascertained; *q*, *r*, sculptures on the sides of the sphinx-monoliths A, B; *x*, *y*, two sculptured blocks of a different series.

from one door to the other. Between the two gateways the space widens out to the same width as the approach outside ; but inside the inner gate the walls return at once on either side (II, KK) without any approach on that side corresponding to that from without. Thus the projection of the walls flanking the approach beyond the gates becomes by comparison with the Lion-gate at Boghaz-Keui an established feature of Hittite military architecture, designed to protect the gateway by enfilading fire from above.[1]

The excavations conducted by Macridy Bey in 1907 threw light on several important features not previously determined. From the plan [2] it would seem that the frontage to the approach, on the left side at any rate (E, F), is really the outer wall of the gate tower and external to the main wall, thus confirming us in our conclusion that the entrance was flanked on either side by extra-mural towers. Unfortunately the excavators did not carry on their inquiry to ascertain the line of frontage of the main wall of the whole building or enclosure. This we suspect must have been in line with the outer monoliths, but such a wall must have been much stouter than anything marked upon the plan.

From the foundations preserved it would seem that each tower was designed with chambers. Two other strong oblong chambers or vaults may be noted in the thickness of the wall, and there seems to be indication in the plan of a continuation to the series. The excavators were troubled by the fact that no door openings were found to these rooms.[3] and it is difficult now to form an opinion as to whether the walls were preserved above the lower courses. In this connection it is instructive to observe that in military Roman forts of later days (in the earlier system of the first and second centuries) the chambers on the lower floors of such guard-rooms were often merely vaults or cellars, gained from the upper floor (which was nearly level with the sentry-go upon the wall) by means of an internal ladder. In this case it is possible that the lower part of these towers contained no chambers. Our excavations at Sakje-Geuzi showed that the space inside the facing slabs was built up solidly of brick,[4] though a flight of stairs from inside testified to the existence of rooms in the upper part of the structure.

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[1] Cf. the citadel gateways of Sinjerli, p. 245, and of Carchemish, fig. 40.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Pl. I. fig. 10.

[3] Macridy Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[4] See p. 267.

A still more important fact was revealed by this recent excavation. This is the discovery, on the left hand, of a lower frontage wall or foundation (X, Y), upon which the upper one partly rests. Now between these upper and lower walls there is, according to the plan, a clear angle of deviation amounting to five degrees. The masonry of the lower wall corresponds with the roughly 'polygonal' system of walling illustrated on Beuyuk Kaleh at Boghaz-Keui and elsewhere, while that of the upper consists entirely of large square blocks of granite, nearly uniform in height and mostly five or six feet in length, bound together by means of 'joggles,' and backed by a revetment of rough stones, making the whole about two metres thick. So far as one can judge from the published evidence, there is clear suggestion of two different building periods. The monoliths and other sculptures, and the visible remains in general, belong to this later series.

Before passing on to a consideration of the sculptures there are two or three architectural points to be noted. In the large cubes for the frontage wall, it is noticeable, particularly in the interior, that their faces are dressed only for a width of five or six inches around the edges, while the rest of the face projects considerably beyond this dressed line. This seems to have been a regular mason's method of drafting, for the same treatment may be seen on the smaller stones in the main wall at the approach to the Lion-gate at Boghaz-Keui (Pl. XVIII.). It is clear that in the latter case no sculptures were contemplated, hence this feature does not necessarily imply that such stones were left by the mason for the sculptor, or remained for some other reason in an unfinished state; although there is evidence that walls were sometimes dressed after the stones had been placed in position.[1] Another point is the reconstruction of the doorway, whether as a cantilever archway, as at Boghaz-Keui, or by a single massive lintel. The great size of the granite block which marks the threshold shows that the latter method was possible to the engineers, and part of the lintel may perhaps be seen in a huge square-cut mass of granite (*i*), with a few hieroglyphs upon it, which lies, unclaimed for any other purpose, in front of the gateway, where it might easily have fallen. On the other hand, the clear space between the jambs measures nearly twelve feet, and it may be thought that the jambs are not designed of sufficient relative proportions to support a mass and weight so great as would have been required of a single stone that spanned them. In the preserved upper part of the left-hand monolith also (B) there may be observed a slope in the face resembling the offspring of an arch, while the vertical stop is inclined slightly outwards, as though designed to receive the thrust. The pressure would be further taken by a backing of masonry behind the monoliths, which may be seen from the plan to have been included in the original design. Notwithstanding these considerations, the material evidence in this case is in favour of a great stone lintel, of strength and size proportionate to the width of its span.

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[1] Cf. Macridy Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 13. The outer walls of the palace enclosure at Sakje-Geuzi were dressed *in situ*. Cf. p. 273, also the design of block *f* on the frontage wall of this site, p. 137.

A third point is the reconstruction of the upper courses of the building, and this involves a consideration of the mutual relation of the upper and lower walls of the frontage (EF and XY). With regard to the upper wall (EF), a dressed block of the second course remains seemingly not much out of its original position.[1] This prepares us for the restoration of the whole course in stone, and possibly another fallen block (lying just in front of that marked *f*) might be fitted into place to the left hand of the former. This creates for itself a precedent, for in other sculptured walls that are known, as at Sinjerli and Sakje-Geuzi, the wall was carried up in brick. In those cases, however, the sculptures were carved on facing slabs merely, not on cubical building blocks, and in this respect there is a difference between the Syrian-Hittite and the Ḫattic styles, so that for architectural analogy we must look rather to the palace at Boghaz-Keui. The latter, however, furnishes no direct evidence on the point, though M. Perrot suspected that the building was carried up on a timber frame. We must, then, accept the suggestion of this single stone *in situ*; but we must hesitate to accept without clear proof the theory that there were sculptures also on the second tier,[1] a feature for which we have no analogy in Hittite works. The two sculptured blocks (x, y) found at a lower level, in front of the lower wall (XY), represent subjects entirely different to those *in situ*, and seem from the published photographs [2] to illustrate a phase of art as different as the early and later reliefs of Sinjerli. It has been noted, moreover, that these two blocks were found in the excavation which disclosed the lower wall. Now there is clear suggestion, in plan and photograph, that the lower wall was antecedent to the upper; and bearing in mind the later level, which is best seen in the threshold between the sphinxes, it is probable that the lower wall no longer remained exposed to view at the time when the upper one was in use, but was already hidden by debris and ruins. The analogy of the palaces of Boghaz-Keui is entirely accordant. We are inclined, therefore, to believe that the two sculptured blocks in question (x, y), representing scenes of the chase, belong to the earlier period coeval with the lower wall. However that may be, the evidence before us tells of two distinct phases in the history of the Hittite Eyuk; the first when the site was surrounded by a town wall, possibly with a decorated gateway; [3] the second after the earlier works had been ruined (like the neighbouring palace of the Ḫattic kings at Boghaz-Keui), and in their place a palace was constructed with its entrance over the remains of the older gateway. Later in this chapter we shall find further indication in an unplaced corner-stone (p) of a period of reconstruction.

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[1] This may be seen in the photograph, Pl. XXIX.: it covers the sculptured block marked *e* in the plan, extending a little way on either side.

The sculptures decorating this palatial entrance are of two classes: the great monoliths forming the jambs of the gateway, fashioned like sphinxes (A, B, C, D), and the reliefs with which the walls of the frontage and the approach-way are adorned. The outer sphinxes (A, B) are almost identical: each is over seven feet in height, while the blocks of which they form a part are about ten feet high in all. The inner sphinxes must have been similar but smaller.[4] Only the forepart of the sphinx is represented, and that is in bold relief. The breast and forelegs are those of a large animal; this is generally supposed to represent a bull,[1] though that on the left has five toes or claws. There is a bagginess as of pendent flesh between the legs. The upper part is a human face, surrounded with a wig or head-dress of sorts, which has the shape of a horseshoe, ending in front of the shoulders in a completed outward curve within which is an inner concentric circle. At the sides of the head this feature comes outwards and forwards like a hood to protect the ears and neck. It is fitted to the head by a broad band around the brow; from this there descend in front of the ears two long attachments to support a collar which forms a band under the chin. That on the left is plain; but that on the right is ornamented with three rosettes, each with six hollow loop-like petals. The ears are human, but large and too low down. The eye-sockets are hollowed as for the separate insetting of the eyes. The face is too weathered to preserve much character; it may be judged to have been full and round, especially in the upper part of the cheeks. The photograph speaks more clearly than any length of description.[2]

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[1] The restoration suggested by Macridy Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[2] Macridy Bey, *op. cit.*, figs. 23, 24.

[3] Cf. the 'Stadt-thor' at Sinjerli; Von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (Berlin, 1902), Pls. XXIX., XXXIV.; and below, p. 240.

[4] The remains of these sphinxes became quite plain in profile after the earth had been cleared away; see a photo, *Liv. A.A.*, i. (1908), Pl. III.

It has been supposed by early writers,[3] and repeated by many, that these sphinxes are of Egyptian suggestion. But the sphinx in general is not necessarily Egyptian: no one has traced any indigenous development of it as an artistic motive or as a religious symbol. It is much commoner in the Euphrates valley, where also it is found in greater variety of form. Its full meaning becomes clearer in those more life-like representations. There the strength and dominion of the monarch are symbolised by the movement and force of the noble beast upon which his features are portrayed. But in Egypt the sphinx is, for the most part, conventional and lifeless, an adaptation to the religious after-death symbolism which is the dominant motive of surviving Egyptian art. The familiar posture in early examples is sitting, and even the face is represented with so much conventionality and death-like mystery that it has given rise in our language to the expression 'sphinx-like,' implying

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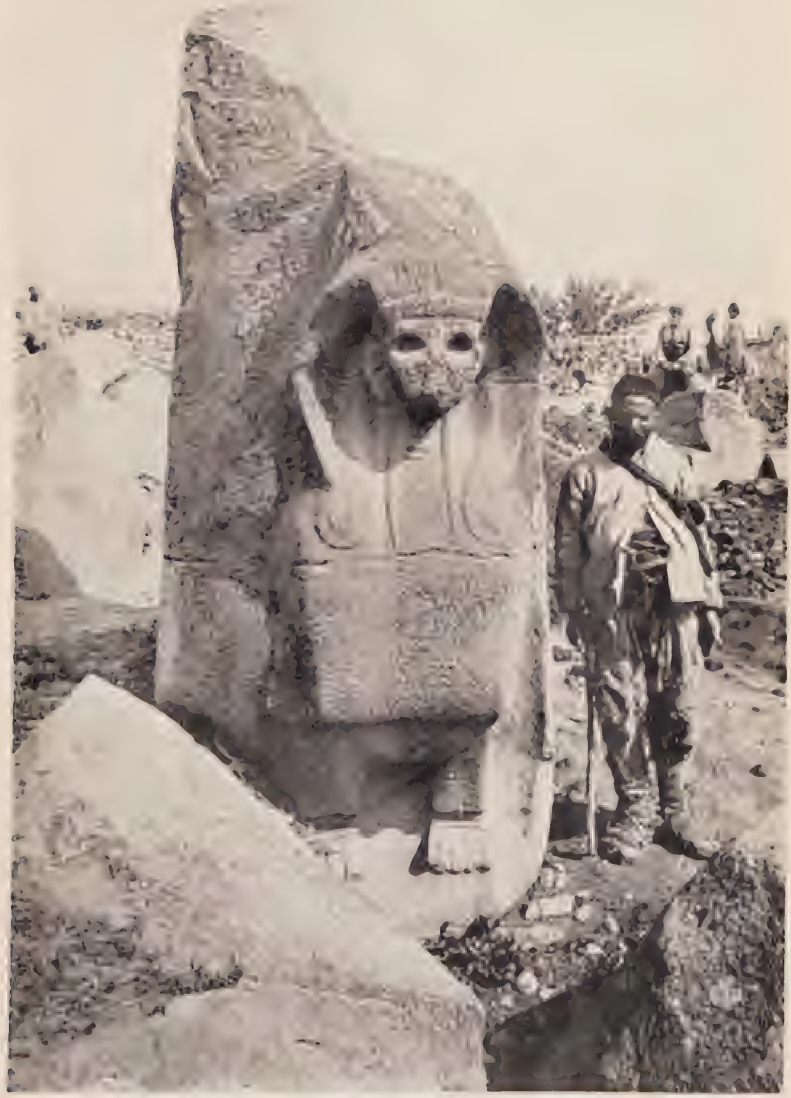
[1] Cf., for example, Murray's *Handbook for Asia Minor*, p. 27.

[2] Pl. XXVIII. Cf. the details of the Sphinx from Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. L.

[3] Cf. Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 648.



BULL SPHINX FROM GATEWAY AT EYUK.

an unvarying aspect of potential and mysterious serenity. Finally, no example of this class of sphinx, where the body is that of a bull, seems to have been found in Egypt, which could then hardly have provided the model for these standing ponderous bull-sphinxes of Eyuk.

The face carved upon the sphinxes may be that of the royal and priestly law-giver who dwelt within the palace which they guarded, or it may be a conventional type; upon that point there is no evidence. We have disclaimed any Egyptian motive in these sphinxes on general grounds, but there are found two curious and unexplained resemblances when we come to consider the facial type portrayed and the manner in which it is adorned. The one is in the portrait-statue[1] of Nefret, a queen of Egypt in the middle of the twelfth dynasty (before or about 2000 B.C.), a sculpture which represents a type exceptional, indeed almost unique, in Egyptian art. There is something to be borne in mind, however, in making a comparison, namely, that this statue may have been carved in the Delta, and that ancient monuments of Lower Egypt are so rare that their standard character is little known. Hence it is not certain whether this peculiar monument merely reproduces a type of which no other examples have survived, or whether it was itself worked from a model strange even to the Delta. In the latter case the interesting explanation offers itself, that perhaps as early as the twelfth dynasty the Egyptian kings intermarried with Mesopotamian or Hittite princesses, as was done during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. The other resemblance is found in an Etruscan monument,[2] which presents a general similarity in subject and treatment at once striking and suggestive.

Turning now to the reliefs that adorn the frontage-walls, it is seen that, as at Iasily Kaya, two main series are opposed to one another in the composition of the whole. In both the main themes are religious. On the left-hand side the shrine of a bull is represented, with priest and priestess and attendants bringing up smaller animals to be sacrificed. On the right-hand side the centre of worship appears as an enthroned goddess, twice depicted; and other stones in the row are decorated with a bull and lion of magnificent proportions. The cult-deity occupies in each case the prominent place, namely, the front face of the corner-stones on either side, facing towards the worshippers and others who follow in their train.

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[1] See the photograph in Newberry, etc., *Short History of Egypt* (ed. 1907), frontispiece. The special feature of the horseshoe-like head-dress occurs on scarabs of the Hyksos period (cf. the same writer's *Scarabs*, London, 1906, Pl. xxv. No. 30), another suggestion of Asiatic origins.

[2] Berlin Mus., Etruscan Rooms, No. 1251. Compare also some weathered statues from Sinjerli described below, pp. 297, 298.

The bull (*a*), the object of adoration on the left, stands on a panelled pedestal with projecting cornice. His dewlap, hair, full chest, and heavy shoulders are delineated, and he seems to bear some special marks upon his flank and quarter. His generative organs are represented, but not in exaggeration. He stands enshrined, the emblem of earthly strength and virility; and it is reasonable to infer from his counter-position to the Mother-goddess, that he here separately represents the male divinity with whom indeed at Malatia he is found identified.[1]

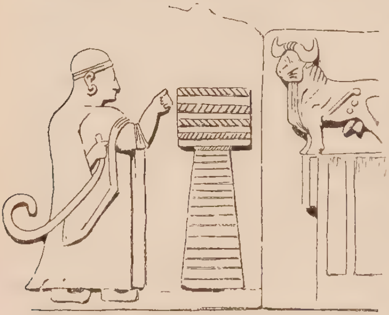

Fig. 8.—Enshrined Bull at Eyuk.

In front of the bull is placed an altar carved on the next stone. It was presumably round; its pedestal narrows towards the top, and is crossed by lateral bands, the alternate ones being decorated by transverse lines in alternating series.[2] The figure who leads the worshippers is the priest-king, a type already familiar in the sculptures of Boghaz-Keui and elsewhere. He wears the same skull-cap, toga-like robe, earrings, and shoes with upturned toes. In his right hand is the reversed lituus; while his left, with the thumb prominent, is stretched out towards the altar. He is followed or accompanied by a female, the chief priestess, presumably his queen. Her dress is interesting. She wears a skirt with oblique curving pleats, and tightly fitting vest.

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[1] Cf. Pl. xxxviii. (*b*). See also what is said about this cult on pp. 144, 302.

[2] Cf. the round altars of Emir-Ghazi, p. 159, and the representations at Fraktin, Pl. xli., p. 216.

Her hair seems to descend behind as a pigtail almost to the ground, though some stray plaits may be seen also falling over the ear. The earring is plain : so too are the turned-up points of her shoes. The arms are in a curious position, and not easy to trace upon the stone : it seems probable, however, that the left one is folded under the right, and that it rests near the elbow upon a staff, which may be seen to be inclined thence obliquely towards the advanced left foot. The head of this staff is not visible, and it cannot be said, therefore, whether it resembles those used similarly by the priestesses in sculptures at Iasily Kaya ;[1] it may be seen, however, to be decorated by a series of short transverse parallel lines down its whole length. The head-dress is broken away. The face of this figure also is not well preserved, but it may be seen to resemble that of the leader in the straightness of the nose, which is in line with the receding forehead, a feature repeated too deliberately and too often to be accounted for merely as a defect in drawing.[2]

Here follows a gap from which a smaller stone is missing ; to have escaped from the joggles that fixed it in position it must have been broken, and has so disappeared.[3] The third stone (*c*) is well filled by a scene representing a ram and three sheep led forward by a man as to the sacrifice. The latter holds the ram by the horns, and two of the sheep appear as an upper register, in the usual convention which was intended to convey the impression of distance ; by this arrangement it is possible that a flock of sheep is symbolised, as suggested by M. Perrot, but it is noticeable that the number of animals is the same as the number of priest-shepherds (or attendants), of whom three more are shown following this group on the next stone (*d*). These are clad uniformly in similar fashion to their leader, and the only feature in this respect that distinguishes them from the chief priest is the fall of their cloaks, which ends almost in a point behind the foot. One hand of each is raised before the face, but the other is employed differently in each case. The leading attendant, it was noted, grasps the horn of one of the animals. The first figure of the group that follows (*d*) seems to be holding a cord or whip, the continuation of which cannot, however, be traced on the stone in front. The second holds up an object which is worn away at the top, but ends below, level with his elbow, in an outward curl. The last is represented similarly with both hands raised, but nothing can now be seen to have been held by them. The head of this figure, too, is almost wholly obliterated.

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[1] Cf. Pl. XXIV.

[2] Cf. Pls. XLIV., XLV.

[3] We cannot accept the theory of an intentional opening (Macridy Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 11).

Then follows, on the fourth stone, one of the most curious representations of the series. This consists of two small figures of men, one of whom is mounting a ladder of twenty rungs, which rises obliquely from the ground-level and ends at two-thirds of the height of the stone. The men are clad in short tunics, and other details noticeable in their dress are the helmet-like hat[1] of the man upon the ladder, the skull-cap and earrings of the other, the girdle-knot of both. The position of their hands enables us to divine with some certainty the real meaning of the group. It may be seen[2] that the man upon the ladder is not holding the ladder in order to climb up higher. There is plain to careful scrutiny a small thin implement projecting below the clenched hand, which is just clear of the ladder near the top. The right hand is raised aloft and grasps a rounded implement (more clearly seen in another picture), in a natural attitude of striking a blow. He is working with a chisel and mason's hammer. Now the courses of this wall are about four feet in height,[3] so that a ladder of ordinary tread with twenty rungs would rest approximately against the fourth course or the fifth. If the man stood about the middle of the ladder, he would be working on the third or fourth course, or at the equivalent height. In either case it is implied that he is dressing the wall face, as was sometimes done after the blocks had been fitted, and this being a last stage of the building, the completion of the palace is commemorated by the sculpture. The possibility that the sculptor here represents himself at work, as was not unknown in Oriental mural decoration, seems to be excluded by several considerations, the first being the use of a long ladder, which would have been unnecessary even for a second course of sculptures, and the second the absence of any design on that part of the stone where the chisel is at work. The figure standing on the

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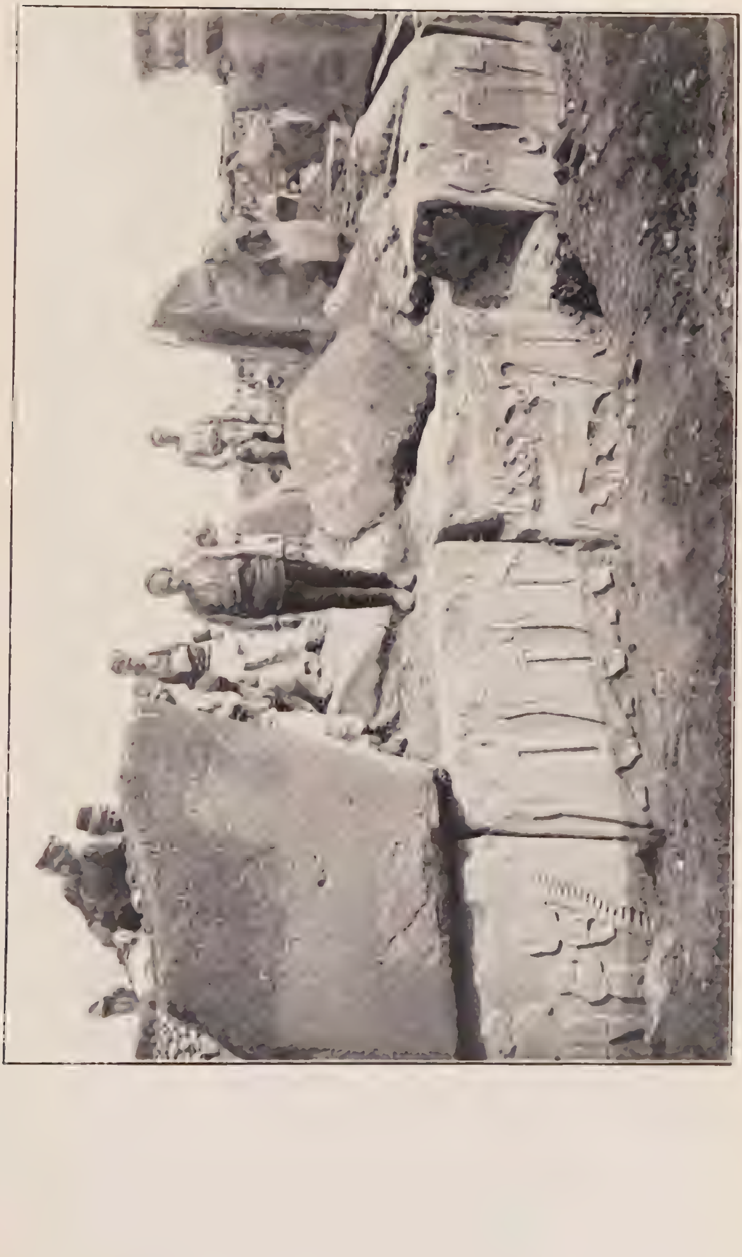
[1] Cf. p. 294, fig. 38.

[2] Pl. xxix.

[3] The stones of the lower course vary from 3 ft. 11 in. to 4 ft. 2 in.

To face p. 13(PLATE XXIX



EYUK : SCULPTURES DECORATING LEFT FRONTAGE OF PALACE ENTRANCE.

See pp. 134-7.

ground-level is seen to be at work in similar fashion upon the lowest courses; he is represented in the act of striking his blow, the hammer being in contact with the chisel.[1]

On the same block there is depicted one of three musicians, all of whom face in the reverse direction, towards the left. They are presumably taking part in another scene, not connected at any rate with the groups of worshippers. The one in question is a trumpeter, his instrument being a plain straight trumpet with expanding end.[2] His dress is the short tunic, skull-cap, and tip-tilted shoe. He wears an ear-ring, and the pigtail is thick and conspicuous, ending in a curl well below the shoulder. The other musicians are found on the next block (*e*). The middle one is clad like the former, but his instrument is different. It is an inflated skin, into which he is clearly blowing, but no pipe is represented: we must suspect a drone effect, the invariable accompaniment of Oriental music.[3] The third instrument is again different, being a fine specimen of guitar, twanged, it would seem, by a *plectrum* attached by a cord to the waistbelt of the operator, and decorated by loose ribbons which flutter from the end.

On the last block (*f*) an ox is represented in outline facing the original direction. Two round objects accompany the scene, the one hollowed in the centre, the other a plain disc. Upon the back of the animal there is a load, the top of which projects. It is impossible to say what the motive of this sculpture was, but being prepared for a non-religious interpretation by the scenes which precede it, it may be explained as a beast of burden, bringing a load towards the building of the palace. Possibly the round objects represent the wheels of a wagon which could not be introduced owing to lack of space upon the wall, which here comes to an end.

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[1] See Pl. XXIX.

[2] Traceable easily on the stone, but usually in shadow, owing to the projection of the stone of the upper course.

[3] ' The bagpipe consists of the skin of a dog apparently, the insufflation pipe being at the tail end, while the drone-pipe was probably concealed within the dog's head, with the vent through its mouth. The same idea was carried out in the Middle Ages in Europe. Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* (i. 866): "you flute-players who are here from Thebes blow the dog's tail with your bone-pipes." ' (Extract from a letter from Miss K. Schlesinger.) See also the same authority's description of the guitar, which she finds to be provided with numerous frets, and to have five small round sound holes on each side of the three or four strings. In the evolution of musical instruments these sculptures provide important links. *Instruments of the Orchestra and Precursors of the Violin Family*, vol. ii., *Ancient*; extra frontispiece and note. Our Pl. XXX. (*b*).

The series of sculptures on the right hand, which corresponds with those we have just described, opens with the representation of a religious rite. In this case it is a female deity, enthroned, that is the object of adoration[1]; but we miss any distinctive features among those who worship. The goddess is presumably to be recognised here, again, as a local version of the Mother-goddess, whose image we have been able to identify in the sculptures of the great sanctuary at Iasily Kaya, and shall find again enshrined on Mount SIPYLUS,[2] on the rocks at Fraktin,[3] and on the other side of Taurus among the Hittite sculptures of Carchemish. She was plainly a deity acceptable to all branches of the Hittite peoples: indeed under other names and guises her worship was general throughout the ancient East. In this case (*l*) we find her seated, facing right, upon a low-backed chair. Her dress is a long robe reaching to the ankles, and beneath it, upon a low stool, her feet may be seen, the left advanced, clad in shoes, the toes of which turn up and backwards in a completed curve—a unique instance. She wears a threefold collar, and her hair falls in a long pigtail reaching to the seat of the chair between its back and her body. The nose is angular and in line with the receding forehead, but the head-dress is broken away. With her right hand she holds something to her mouth, and with her left she holds aloft a drinking-cup in the form of a goblet, the stem of which is partly hidden by the hand, and not drawn straight. The chair on which she sits has four legs, the feet of which turn forward: the seat is slightly curved, and the frame is supported by a spindle.

The worshippers (*m*) are three in number, and seem to be all similar to one another; unfortunately their faces are obliterated. They stand with one foot forward, probably the right, as they are turned left towards the goddess. They seem to be clad in the toga-like garment, as worn by the priest and his attendants in the corresponding scene on the opposite side. The front edge of this garment, however, is bordered in some way and so prominently

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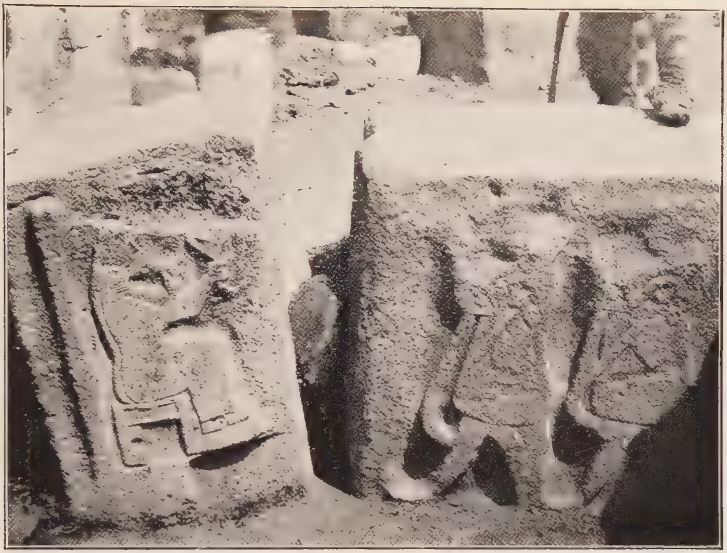
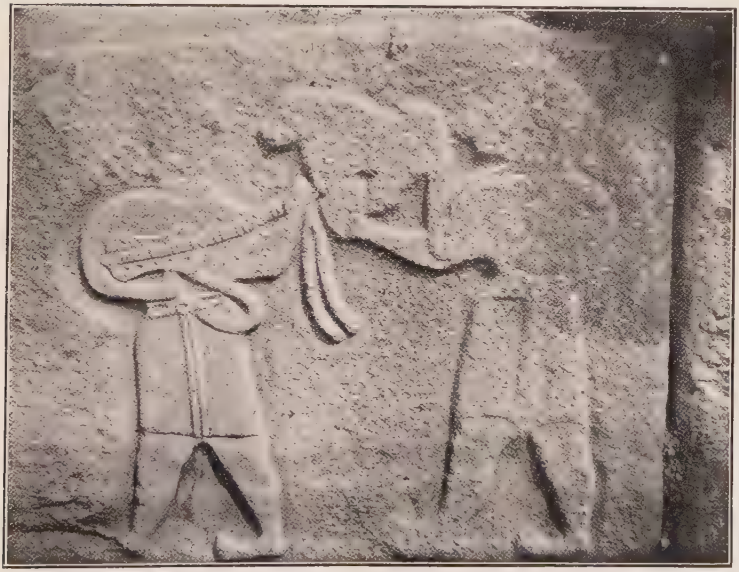
[1] Pl. xxx. (*a*).

[2] Pl. xxxvi.

[3] Pl. xli.



EYUK: SHRINE OF THE MOTHER-GODDESS.
Sculpture decorating right frontage of palace entrance.



EYUK: MUSICIANS WITH BAGPIPE AND GUITAR.

displayed that it has misled many observers. The right arms of these figures are advanced with hands uplifted.[1] The left elbow is by the side and bent, and the hand, opposite the middle of the chest, clasps a straight staff about its middle, with the upper end resting upon the shoulder in a natural position. The top end does not curve (as suggested by M. Guillaume's drawing), and if there was any embellishment it was in the addition near the middle of a crescental object better seen in a sculpture (a^2) on the left of the entrance, which is described below. This block is followed by a third (*n*) still *in situ*, on which there may be faintly made out the representations of three other figures similar to those which precede.[2] The next block (*o*) is out of place, and somewhat lower than those of this façade : none the less it is sufficiently near in position and in size for it to have followed next in the series. Upon it there is depicted with magnificent realism a bull,[3] with lowered head, as in the act of charging or preparing to toss. Another stone (*p*), though at hand, is separated from its neighbours, and standing now on end, does duty as the jamb of a doorway into the public washhouse of the village. This is carved with equally vigorous realism, the subject being a lion holding down a ram with his forefeet ; the hind legs, too, are outstretched as though he had not recovered from his spring. The tail is down and curls outwards. The lion faces left, and the ram is transverse to the latter's profile. This block must have served as corner-stone, from the analogy of similar monuments at Marash, Sakje-Geuzi,[4] and elsewhere, in which the body of the lion is carved in relief, with the head and forepart in the round. Upon his back there is to be seen a squared surface for the reception of the upper corner-stone. In this case the ram also is in high relief, with head in the round, as the length of its body corresponds with the thickness of the stone.[1] The treatment of detail on the flank and quarters of the ram obeys a definite Hittite convention, which is further illustrated by the two detached blocks. These were found [2] below and in front of the lower frontage-wall on the left (*x*, *y*). Each is carved in an upper and lower register. On the one, in the upper part, a man is represented kneeling, taking aim with bow and arrow against a wild boar which is charging him. His dress is the short tunic and skull-cap; the bow is only of medium length, but the arrow is long and barbed. The animal is depicted with considerable realism, especially the snout and bristles: the tail ends in a treble point. In the register below, a stag, facing left, is nibbling at some herbage; the artist has been short of space in height, and has squeezed his subject so that the animal seems to crouch. It is followed in series by another huntsman figure, who was represented in the same attitude as the one above, but the stone at this place is very much worn, and only the arrow-point and outline can be distinguished. The second stone is in sequence to the left; in the upper row only a tree can be plainly made out towards the left, but the remainder may be believed to have been a continuation of the scene of chase. In the lower register the herbage (remarkably like gentian) appears to be continued on the right, and facing it is another standing stag. Two smaller but similar animals face the other way, and in the distance (shown high in the scene and small in size) there may be seen another, running left with head turned backwards.

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[1] MM. Perrot and Guillaume in particular seem to have fallen before the pitfalls of perspective in the picture, and their drawing is misleading (*Exploration Archéologique, Cappadoce*, Pl. LXIV. ; *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii. fig. 338). They have been followed by others.

[2] We describe these objects as they were placed at the time of our visit ; they have since been disturbed with a view, no doubt, to ultimate transport to a place of safety. See Von der Osten, *op. cit.*, p. 36, fig. 34.

[3] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, p. 174, fig. 339.

[4] See below, Pls. XLIII., XLVIII.

In the treatment of these animals the same peculiar conventions are observed, particularly in the delineation of the shoulder muscles, that we have noticed on the small animal under the lion's paws (*p*) described above: the three sculptures are not, however, necessarily contemporary.[3] As stated previously, it seems probable that the newly found reliefs (*x*, *y*) belong to the earlier building period,[4] by reason of the circumstances of their discovery,

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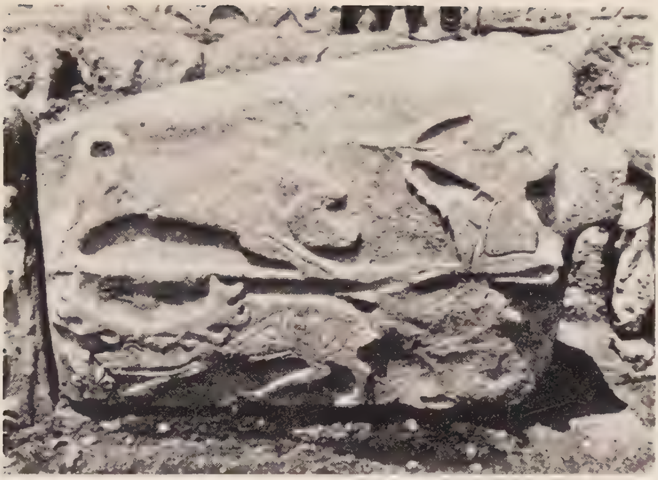
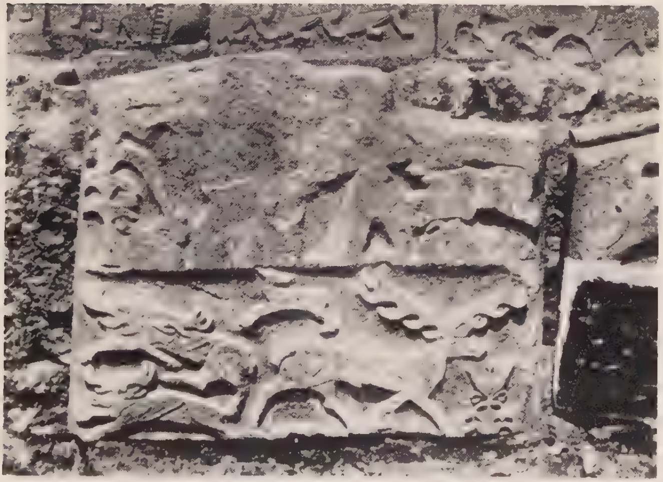
[1] See Perrot, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii., fig. 341 and fig. 340; *Exploration*, Pl. LVII.

[2] Macridy Bey, *op. cit.*, figs. 23, 24.

[3] These details were in vogue throughout the whole range of Hittite art at Sinjerli: see p. 260 f. Cf. also Pls. XIII. and XLVIII.

[4] On the question of date, see above, p. 131.





EYUK : TWO BUILDING BLOCKS (x, y) OF EARLIER PERIOD AND STYLE, DECORATED WITH SCENES OF THE CHASE.

their differing style and the nature of the scenes depicted upon them. Moreover, the lion block (*p*) is a corner-stone, and fits no visible position in the palace entrance that we have been considering; so that there is definite indication of at least two building periods, and our limited knowledge of Hittite sculptures of the kind does not enable us to assign this piece to either; it is rather to be compared with the Syro-Hittite art of the tenth century B.C.

Two sculptured blocks have been displaced from the walls that line the approach leading to the sphinx-gate (EB, GA), but they have been recognised from their dimensions among those lying loose about the entrance.[1] There are only two blocks on either side, whereof the corner-stones remain *in situ*, with their ends to the line of frontage (a^1 and *l* in the plan); so that the loose stones fall into place between the corner-stone and the sphinx on each side (*h*, *k* in the plan). On the left hand the faces of both stones are sculptured (a^2, *h*). The nearer one is the corner-stone, on the end of which there appears, as we have seen, the image of the bull upon a pedestal. On the short side, however, the subject is quite different; and we see two pairs of male figures, the members of each pair facing towards one another. On the left each member grasps a staff: the first figure is taller than the second, so that his hand is found above the other's, the staff resting on the ground and rising vertically between them. Each figure is clad in a short tunic, but little else can be made out except the earring and the prominent receding nose of the taller person. As in the case of the bull last described (*g*), the carving does not seem to have been executed in anything but outline, though that is fairly deep, and the background has been cut away. The smaller figure, which is to the left, has partly disappeared with the broken corner of the stone, and the upper part has also been considerably damaged.[2] The group on the right of the same stone is not quite the same. The taller figure faces left in this case also, but he is clad in the long toga-like garment, with skull-cap, earring, and tip-tilted shoes, and he alone touches the staff which he holds aloft with both hands, the right above the left. Projecting from the middle of the staff, and at the very place where the left hand grasps it, there is a crescental object, with interior peak, resembling in the drawing a certain kind of axe-head found in Egypt, which was affixed at three points to the staff. It is difficult to form any opinion as to what this really is intended to represent; an axe-head would hardly be fixed to the middle of a staff, even though only for ceremonial purposes; while, on the other hand, by the old conventions of perspective, the curving outer edge may really represent some round object in the plane perpendicular to the surface of the stone, as seen for example in the trumpet depicted on the outer façade (*d*). The smaller figure in this case is very indistinct; he is represented as standing some distance beyond the greater, though facing it, his feet being shown, that is, on a higher level than the rest.

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[1] Ramsay, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* (N.S.), xv. p. 116, with sketch plan.

[2] Perrot, *op. cit.*, fig. 335, represents the right-hand figure with head-dress serrated, but this marking seems to be the weathering of the stone.

The next block (*h*) shows six figures.[1] These sculptures are in a poor state, but some details may be gleaned. The men are in procession or in line, all turned towards the right, facing, that is, the sphinx and the entrance to the palace. They seem to be clad in short tunics, and they wear tip-tilted shoes. Their head-dress is possibly helmet-like, as worn by the mason on the ladder described above. The knot of their girdle-rope is seen in some cases. The left hands seem all to be held up in symmetry, with their right hands near the middle of the waist, and their right elbows bent.

The counterpart to this group on the opposite side (*k*) is of special interest, but was not published by M. Perrot. As pointed out by Professor Ramsay,[2] who first rolled this block over and so found the sculpture, there is on the right hand of the picture the clear outline of a seated goddess, resembling in most respects the goddess adored in the front group (*l*), which we have described. In this case the stone is broken, and only the knees and hands are seen, with part of the stool, but the analogy is sufficient. Any object that may have been held in her hand is no longer visible, and a row of points has been drilled at some time across the stone as though to sever that end from the block. The next feature of interest is the reappearance of the chief priest and priestess, whom we suppose to have been the local king and queen, and whose figures we have seen previously, on the left front (*b*), conducting the rites at the shrine of the bull. Only in this case a libation scene is represented, such as we shall find at Fraktin and at Malatia.[1] In the restored scene the priest pours out the liquid offering with his left hand into a vase held by the goddess; while the priestess poises some large object like a pomegranate aloft. Unfortunately in this case again the head-dress of the queen cannot be made out. She is followed by two weathered figures, who resemble the attendants in the previous instance, wearing the same toga-like garment with prominent front edge.

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[1] Perrot, *op. cit.*, fig. 336, Pl. LXIII.; Macridy Bey, *op. cit.*, fig. 28, p. 21.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, also *Recueil de Travaux*, xiv. p. 91 and fig. 5.

The inner face of the corner-stone (*l*) on this side is not sculptured at all; but on the side of the great sphinxes (A, B) that flank the entrance, there have been considerable reliefs, among which that which remains on the right hand (*q*) is of special interest. Here we find a repetition of the double eagle which we last met with in the sculptures of Iasily Kaya.[2] In this case the talons of the bird are fixed on two hares, the faces of which turn outwards. There was apparently only one figure represented upon his back; whether this was male or female it is difficult to say. The form of the skirt trailing behind would well agree with those of Iasily Kaya; but there are no vertical pleats. On the other hand, there may be detected traces of the loose end of a toga and of the curved end of a reversed lituus, features which suggest a male figure clad like the priest-king now familiar in these sculptures. One detail is quite clear, namely the turned-up toe of the shoe, and this may be seen upon the corresponding side of the opposite sphinx, together with traces of an eagle's head. The inner ends of these monoliths are defaced and preserve no trace of any sculptures, but in the corresponding places on the inner sphinxes (*s*, *t*) there may be found, deep down, the feet of a man wearing the tip-tilted shoe, and turned towards the gateway. In this sculpture there is a possible analogy with the warrior figures adorning the east gateway at Boghaz-Keui.[3]

There are no other carvings found *in situ*: of those lying about we may mention a large block with a few hieroglyphic signs[1] upon it, lying near the threshold (*i* in Plan); another stone with a border on two sides, and a figure in high relief upon it, which seems to us to be possibly the body of a seated goddess, though in another sense it looks like a crude crouching lion.[2] It lies in a garden not far from the gateway.[3] There are to be seen also a pair of large stones that may have formed part of the local series, but are now unrecognisable.[4] They lie a mile away on the rising ground, where they have been arranged at some forgotten date to serve as the jambs of an entrance which may be still traced below the soil.

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[1] Cf. Pls. XXXVIII. and XLI.

[2] Pl. XXIV., p. 105 (Nos. 3, 4, R.).

[3] Winckler, *Mitt. d. Deut. Orient.-Ges. zu Berlin* (Dec. 1907, No. 35), p. 70: Abb. 12, Das Ost-tor. See also above, p. 85.

We have dealt in detail with the sculptures of Eyuk, because they constitute instructive criteria of Ḫattic art, supplementing those of the chief sanctuary. Apart from the double eagle which we have already noticed[5] and the varied scenes of special interest, the central motive from the religious standpoint discloses again a leading god and goddess, the former represented by a bull, the latter associated with lions; and the worship of these takes precedence over all other themes. We shall find this pair of divinities, or their local counterparts, in numerous other sites and shrines, notably at Malatia;[6] and history has preserved a record of the same cult long surviving in the Syrian sites of DOLICHE and HIERAPOLIS.[7] Apart from the capital itself, Eyuk has furnished the most instructive group of monuments to be seen upon the plateau of Asia Minor.

(*b*) MONUMENTS OF THE NORTH-WEST

The Upper Sangarius Basin

ANGORA, (CHESME KEUPRI); GIAOUR-KALESI, YARRE; DOGHANLU, BEY-ḲEUI

It has already been indicated that the Hittite works in the West are few in number and of somewhat special character, and that they are disposed for the most part seemingly along a single line of road.[1] Nevertheless, if we may permit ourselves to take into consideration certain sculptures which, though uninscribed, are of strongly Hittite character, we shall find reason to feel the presence of Hittite influence, or close contact with Hittite artistic feeling, in north-east Phrygia. In view of the fact which has been established [2] that the HALYS River formed a boundary between peoples of different racial customs, this evidence, if it may be accepted, assumes definite importance, inasmuch as such influence was less likely, under the circumstances, to be the result of neighbourly assimilation. It would argue, in short, for a definite occupation or suzerainty.

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[1] Messerschmidt, *C.I.H.*, Pl. XXIX., No. 17.

[2] Taken by Perrot for part of a sphinx, and by Macridy Bey for the lower part of a standing upright figure (*op. cit.*, p. 25).

[3] No. 16 in M. Perrot's Plan, *op. cit.*, fig. 324 (Pl. LV.).

[4] We do not agree with any of the suggested restorations of these motives. Cf. Macridy Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28; Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoc.* (Paris, 1898), p. 9.

[5] Above, p. 143.

[6] Below, pp. 202 ff.

[7] Cf. p. 303.

ANGORA.—Of such uninscribed works we may single out three in the immediate vicinity of Angora, the one at Kalaba,[3] which is just eastward of the town, the others at Amaksiz and Yalanjak,[4] which lie to the west and south-west respectively. These are uniform slabs of stone, suitable for the façade of a building, decorated with reliefs of lions.[5] It is not merely the analogy of motive and of subject, but certain details of treatment, which give them a Hittite character. The beasts are in each case represented as advancing, with wide open mouths. The farther legs are advanced and the tail curls over the back. On the lion from Kalaba the body is seemingly hairy below the belly and the collar is suggested. Most characteristic of all is the treatment of the shoulder muscles, which are drawn in conventional outline, as at Eyuk, Sinjerli, and elsewhere. (A lion was to be seen also at Chesme Keupri on the western side of the bridge, exposed to the weather. It is sculptured completely in the round, a fashion unknown as yet to Hittite art, and added to that there must be noticed the seated posture of the animal and uncouth treatment of the subject. We cannot see in this any semblance of Hittite influence.)

GIAOUR-KALESI.—The sculptures of Giaour-Kalesi, however, are of unmistakably Hittite origin, even though no inscription seems to have been noticed with them. Here the subjects are god-like figures, in familiar Hittite guise.[6]

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[1] See p. 62.

[2] See pp. 15, 52.

[3] Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii. p. 198, fig. 350.

[4] Crowfoot, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xix. pp. 45-8, fig. 5.

[5] Cf. the construction at Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. XLVII.

[6] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 202, fig. 352.

They are carved in relief upon the living rock, and their situation is particularly noteworthy. A rocky knoll overlooks, indeed partly overhangs, a narrow pass: upon the summit is a fortress, rectangular in shape, about eighteen yards by thirty-seven, and supported by an outer and lower wall at a distance of twelve to thirty yards. The masonry of the inner wall is rough dry-walling, while the outer is built in the style of the fortress on Beuyuk Kaleh at Boghaz-Keui,[1] of stones roughly pentagonal in shape, irregular in size, fitted to one another, and laid without mortar. In its shape this fortress corresponds to that of Yenije Kaleh at Boghaz-Keui;[2] in its double wall and rough inner masonry to that on Kizil Dagh;[3] and in the position of the monuments near its entrance to that on Kizil Dagh just mentioned, and to another at Karaburna.[4]

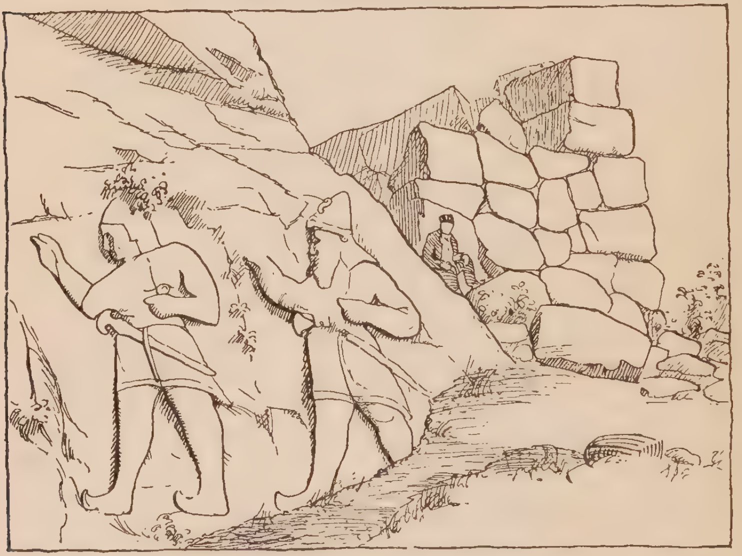

Fig. 9.—Rock Carvings of Giaour-Kalesi.

The sculptures represent two male figures: the one bearded, the other beardless. Both are clad in the short tunic, tip-tilted shoes, and conical hat familiar in the god-figures at Boghaz-Keui.[1] A dagger with crescental hilt is stuck into the belt of each. They are of gigantic size, seemingly about ten or twelve feet high, and both are posed in the same way facing in the same direction. They turn to the observer's left ; their right hands are advanced, while their left arms are drawn back. Obedient to convention, the right legs are advanced, and the shoulders are seen almost in full view. Something hangs down from the hat of each, falling behind the neck ; and upon the front of the hat worn by the bearded figure there may be traced a curving object, but whether the upturned brim familiar on the sculptures at Boghaz-Keui [2] and Sinjerli, or some other emblem, is not determinable. In front of these figures there has recently been observed a third,[3] that of a seated deity. While awaiting further information about this, there can be little doubt as to the identification of the two standing figures, with the two leading male deities of the Hittite pantheon seen in exact correspondence leading the procession of gods on the sculptured walls of the sanctuary at Boghaz-Keui.[4] Is it merely a coincidence that, while being a link in the great westerly route from Boghaz-Keui towards Kara-Bel and SIPYLUS, they are pointing down the pass which is thought by many to have led also directly to PESSINUS, the chief sanctuary of the Mother-goddess [5] in this part of Asia Minor ? Does this monument celebrate the tardy absorption of this part of the plateau within the dominion of the Ḫattic kings, or does it commemorate the final penetration of their arms and the opening of the way down to the western sea ? The documents can best answer these questions ; but the style of dress and carving associates them closely with the period of the sculptures of Iasily Kaya and of Kara-Bel, in the first half of the 13th century B.C.

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[1] See p. 81.
[2] See Pl. xx. (*a*).
[3] See p. 155.
[4] See p. 120.

YARRE.—Whatever may have been the direction of the Royal Road eastward of Giaour-Kalesi, it would seem to have passed west by way of Yarre, which is found near a bridge over the SANGARIUS called Karanji Keupri. Here a sculptured slab has been found decorated with a relief representing a ceremonial feast.[1] This is an important link, for this class of subject has a wide distribution, as we shall see,[2] throughout Hittite lands on both sides of the Taurus. Its appearance west of the HALYS betrays the influence not only of Hittite art but of a common religious practice and belief as regards the dead.

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[1] See Pl. XXIV.
[2] See p. 98, note 2.

[3] By the Chicago Expedition of 1928. For this further detail we are indebted to the courtesy of Professor Breasted and his collaborators.

[4] See Pl. XXIV., on the left.

[5] Strabo, XII. v. 3 ; for the route cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, p. 202 ; Anderson, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xix. p. 95 ; Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 31 ; and *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, xv. (1883), p. 109.

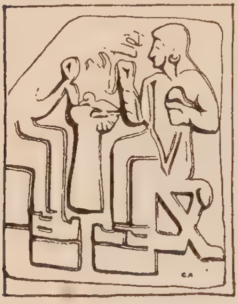

Fig. 10.
RELIEF FROM YARRE.

The slab is almost exactly thirty inches square and twelve inches thick. The back is rough, and on the upper side is carved a tongue or 'joggle,' for attaching another slab: clearly it formed part of the façade of a building like the slabs of Angora, Sinjerli, and Sakje-Geuzi. The drawing of the scene is more angular and less free than is seen on most Hittite works, but there are several Hittite peculiarities. Two figures are seated, their feet on foot-stools, at opposite sides of a narrow table or altar. The head and back of the left-hand figure was missing. The shoes of both turn upwards at the toes, and their garments seem to be long, reaching to their ankles. The end of a toga-like garment is conspicuous on the right-hand figure, falling over the right shoulder and reaching almost to the seat. The head-dress of this figure resembles a skull-cap with expanding front, and a short hood or veil falls behind the neck. The features are sharp, the nose and chin being particularly prominent. The figure is seated on a stool with two straight legs which cross one another. In the left hand (which, as at Sinjerli and elsewhere, is inaccurately represented with the palm instead of the knuckles towards the observer) there is grasped a small round-topped object; and in the right hand, which is partly raised, there seems to be a cup. The opposite figure is clad alike, so far as it can be seen, and similarly raises a cup towards the lips. The horned altar between them resembles in form those seen on the sculptures of Fraktin, which we believe reproduce part of the human form. Upon it is placed a bird, and some other offering not clearly defined. In the background between the two heads, and above the 'altar,' there are to be seen the traces of a hieroglyphic inscription, carved like the figures in relief. This sculpture hardly warrants an explanation in itself, but it is one of a series which is well represented in Hittite art, depicting a ceremonial feast, and possibly of funerary character. In this case the persons are seated, and both share in the feast, as at Iasily Kaya,[1] Marash,[2] and Sinjerli.[3] We infer that they are male and female, for the figure on the right, clad in the toga and long robe, wearing also an earring, is clad like the priesthood; while that on the left, robed and seated on a square or solid stool, resembles the images that we have seen of the Mother-goddess. We conclude that the picture represents a priest or temple servant in communion with the goddess. This sculpture is one of those which reveal the divine Mother in another aspect, as the goddess to be propitiated after death. These two attributes, in her case, are not far separated. For just as in the simplest conception of her powers through her the dead earth revived, while in her developed cult her dead son was brought to life by her mediation, so the instinctive belief of humanity in the incompleteness of death found expression in offerings to her for the dead, and in communion of the dead at her table. The idea of a future life after death was inseparable from her worship.

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[1] Crowfoot, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xix. Pt. I. (1899), pp. 40-5, and fig. 4. On the roads, cf. Anderson, *J.H.S.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 94.

[2] See p. 107, n. 5, and Pl. XLV.

DOGHANLU.—In the Phrygian country the rock sculptures of non-Phrygian character near the Midas-tomb at Doghanlu[4] may be thought to carry on the line of Hittite highway to the West. These are found on a plateau above the valley in which are the Phrygian monuments, and they seem to have been anciently reached by means of a road ascending in a gentle curve, now partly hidden at the bottom by accumulated earth. There are several figures of gigantic size carved in relief upon the rocks, but that which has attracted most attention is a small one in the series, two feet four inches high, described by the discoverer as a figure of 'Hermes.' The person stands, facing left, his left foot and arm advanced. His hair is dressed close, or it may be covered by a skull-cap, and a curl is visible behind the neck. In the left hand a *caduceus* is held upright, the head of which is seen like a small disc with horn-like objects projecting from the top and turned towards one another. Beyond the staff are certain picture-signs, amidst which a bird[1] may be recognised, with a small triangular sign below. These signs, in the opinion of the discoverer, are not the same as the Hittite hieroglyphs. None the less, the monument is accepted as Hittite by Dr. Messerschmidt[2] and M. Perrot,[3] and Professor Ramsay has expressed the view that the Phrygians obviously learned this type from the Hittites of PTERIA. On the other hand, the caduceus, the picture-signs, and the short robe of the figure, are not really those familiar in Hittite art. We are told, however, that other sculptures of the series with which the 'Hermes' is associated have more in common. The theory of Hittite influence, though not of Hittite origin, is perhaps easiest reconciled with history, and we may accept it tentatively as explaining their presence.

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[1] P. 107. [2] P. 224. [3] P. 250 and Pl. XLIV.

[4] Ramsay, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, iii. (1883), pp. 6-11 and fig. 2. For the Phrygian monuments in brief see Murray's *Handbook*, p. 142, etc. For further description of PHRYGIA and its monuments: Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Ox. 1895); also in *J.H.S.*, ix. (1887-8), esp. pp. 350 ff.

BEY KEUI.—The same doubt does not exist, however, in regard to an inscription from Bey-Keui, which is a definite trace of the Hittites in the West. The monument is a dressed block of limestone, and it was dug by Professor Ramsay[4] out of a mound at the entrance to a glen. The hieroglyphs are in relief, and those on the preserved portion of the stone were arranged in rows, of which two partly remain. The whole was surrounded by a plain border.[5] From the published copy two or three of the signs may be readily recognised as distinctively Hittite. The position of the monument has thus a great interest amid the paucity of evidence in the West.

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[1] Cf. the sculpture from Marash, p. 222, and at Fraktin, p. 217.

[2] *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XXXVI. B, and text, p. 32.

[3] *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii. p. 206 and fig. 353.

[4] *Mitt. d. Deut. Arch. Inst. Athen. Abtlg.*, xiv. (1889), p. 181; *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XXXVI. A, and text, p. 32; Murray's *Handbook*, p. 135.

[5] Cf. the original appearance of the inscription from Ekrek, Pl. XLVI.

(c) MONUMENTS OF THE SOUTH-WEST

Beyshehr Lake and Vicinity

ILGÎN, EFLATOUN-BUNAR, FASSILER

ILGÎN.—The south-west region of the plateau is the poorest in Hittite monuments; indeed there is only one that is characteristic. This is an inscription found near Ilgîn, at a place called Kölit-oghlu Yaila,[1] about three miles from the latter and eight miles eastward from the former, and about three hundred yards off the road from Ilgîn to Kadyn Khan. The site is not directly linked by any road system with *ḪATTUSAS*: ICONIUM is distant about fifty miles, and CABALLA, the nearest known Hittite centre, some thirty miles south-westward from this spot. Here there have been observed the traces of an ancient site in a slight eminence upon the plain, and the ruins of a wall running in a curve for a long distance. It is possible, Professor Ramsay thinks, that these indications may mark the site of pre-Hellenic TYRIAION,[2] which was one of the three chief cities of the Phrygio-Lycaonian frontier lands; but in Roman times, however, TYRIAION was placed without doubt at Ilgîn. It is probable in any case that the mound covers a site of Hittite origin that fell into neglect as TYRIAION came into prominence. Out of the top there was dug up a block of limestone, about two feet eight inches high and six feet long. It is not quite complete; but upon it there may be made out with some certainty three rows of Hittite hieroglyphs in relief, the inscription commencing with the right-hand side at the top. The position of the monument is of special importance, for it seems clearly to have been found near to its original position, and is the sole evidence of Hittite influence in this part of the tableland. And though it stands alone, it does not seem to be of that class, the isolation of which is in itself instructive, like the sculptures of Sipylus and Kara-Bel. It seems, on the other hand, to be the product of settled conditions, and its presence implies a whole field and period of Hittite occupation which would otherwise have remained unsuspected, and now invites exploration.

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[1] *Recueil de Travaux*, xiv.; *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. xxxv. and p. 31; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 213 (where the name is incorrectly given as Kosli-Tolu). The inscription was first published in *Revue Archéologique*, 3e série, 1885, v. p. 262. Revised copy of Sayce in *Proc. S.B.A.*, Jan. 1904, p. 24, with Plate.

[2] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I. ii. 14.

Eflatoun-Bunar.—There are two monuments southwest of Konia which, though not inscribed nor demonstrably of Hittite handiwork, reflect clearly Hittite influence and feeling in art. One of them is 'Plato's Spring' at Eflatoun-Bunar,[1] nine miles northwards from Beyshehr. This consists of two walls of an unexplained structure, of which about two-thirds has been destroyed. The façade, which is decorated with sculptures, is about twelve feet in height and twenty feet in length. It is washed by a stream which has been partly dammed by stones taken from the building. The stones are large, almost gigantic, and dressed with care: they are decorated with human figures in relief, which vary in size with the stones, though forming a symmetrical group, and each posed with hands raised, in full view; several of them wear the conical Hittite hat. Two pairs of wings, enclosing discs, are carved upon a single stone which spans all but the corner-stones, while a great slab which covers the whole retains the decoration of a single pair of wings and part of a central disc.[2] In the side view some of the stones are dressed with a panel; other stones are lying about, and Professor Ramsay detected one on which a lion seemed to have been carved.

Fassiler.—There is another remarkable but equally problematical monument at Fassiler,[3] near the route from Beyshehr to Iconium. It is a gigantic stela, about eight yards in height, and nearly a yard thick. At the bottom its width is nearly three yards, narrowing at the top to nearly two yards. The subject represented upon it is carved in very high relief. It shows two lions side by side separated only by a figure clad in a long robe, with hands

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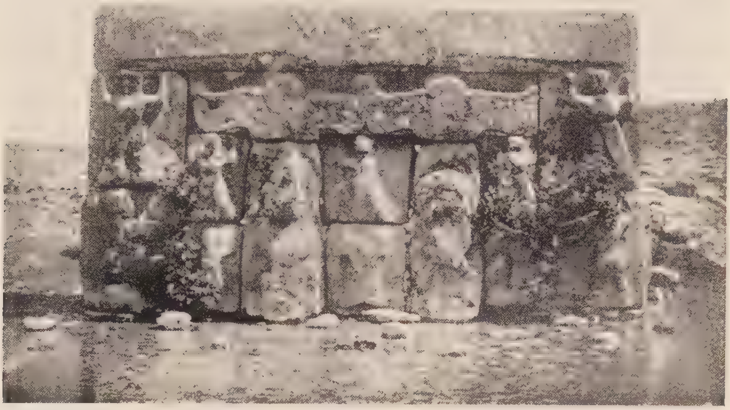
[1] Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, ii. pp. 350, 351; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 214 and fig. 356; *Revue Archéologique*, 3e série, 1885, v. pp. 357-64, Pls. xi., xii.; Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, Pls. xiv.-xvi.; also Sarre, *Arch. Epig. Mitt.*, xix. (1896).

[2] In the sculptures of Boghaz-Keui a winged disc indicates the priest-king. Cf. p. 112.

[3] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 222, 223; illustration in Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul* (London, 1907), p. 134, fig. 7.



(*a*) EFLATOUN-BUNAR: SCULPTURES AT THE SPRING.

(*b*) KIZÎL DAGH: THE THRONE OF THE GOD.
See p. 155 *and fig.* 11.

folded before the breast. Upon the shoulders[1] there is posed a greater figure, wearing the short tunic and conical hat of peculiar form. The right hand is raised, while the left arm is bent, and some indistinct object is grasped by the hand. Meagre as is our information about this monument, we do not hesitate to see in it a reflection of an idea which we see carried out in the Hittite sanctuary of Boghaz-Keui. The theme seems to us to represent the statue of the god borne upon the shoulders of his priest; and the lions, usually the emblems or guardians of the goddess, suggest a derived form of her consort, the son-god or Attis.[2] The character of the lions flanking the monument, with their heads projecting boldly in front, is also in keeping with Hittite tradition;[3] and the position of the sculpture between the lions has its counterpart in a monument, equally of post-Hittite times, which has been brought to light at Sinjerli.[4] Finally the whole appearance of the monument suggests a columnar figure upon a lion-base,[5] of which this is a clumsy and ill-carved substitute. A noticeable gulf separates the drawing and execution of this monument from the sculptures of Boghaz-Keui.

(*d*) Monuments in the South-East

KARA DAGH, MAHALICH: KIZIL DAGH: KARAJA DAGH, EMIRGHAZI: (TYÂNITIS) BOR, ANDAVAL, NIGDEH; BULGHAR-MADÊN; IVRÎZ

We turn in conclusion to the south-eastern corner of the tableland, now a desert tract fringed by the northern slopes and outlying ridges of the Taurus mountains. Our comparatively intimate knowledge of the monuments and historical geography of this region is due almost entirely to the consistent researches of Professor Sir Wm. Ramsay and his school.

Kara Dagh.—We come firstly to the Kara Dagh (Black Mountain), an outlying ridge of Taurus,[6] which rises three or four thousand feet above the plain, to a height of seven thousand feet above the sea. At the foot of the mountain, on the north, the little village of Madên-Shehr marks the classical site of Barata, better known, perhaps, as *Bin Bir Kilisse*, ‘the thousand and one churches.’ Professor Ramsay tells of the great changes that time has wrought in this locality.[1] Here there ‘must have been in ancient time the summer sanatorium of the Lycaonian plain. The soil is very fertile, and being volcanic, is specially suitable for vines. Many kinds of fruit trees also were cultivated. Water is not plentiful, but there are several springs of remarkably good water. The needs of agriculture and viticulture were met by a wonderfully elaborate system of storing the rain and the melted snows of winter.’ But now ‘the site of this ancient city is the most inhospitable in the whole of Lycaonia. There is no water except filthy half-poisonous puddles stored in the ancient cisterns. The vines have almost entirely disappeared, the orchards remain only in a few trees run wild. There is hardly any cultivation. The water runs rapidly off the steep slopes of the mountain, and is of no benefit to agriculture except in the lowest parts of the little sheltered valley where the city was built.’

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[1] This is an inference from the omission of the feet; actually the legs come to an end upon the head of the lower figure.

[2] Cf. pp. 114, 144, 204, 303.

[3] Cf. especially the lions and sphinx-base of Sakje-Geuzi, Pls. xlviii., l.

[4] See p. 262.

[5] Cf. below, fig. 28, p. 262.

[6] Cf. ch. iii. p. 63 f.

That the life, and possibly the sanctity, of the place dates back to remote antiquity is shown by the discovery of two Hittite inscriptions on the summit of the mountain.[2] The spot called *Mahalich* is marked by a Byzantine church, which seems to preserve the ancient sanctity of a high place of older times.[3] The church is supported on the north side by rocks in which a passage can now be traced, though it would seem to have been partly hidden at least by the Byzantine walls. This passage was to some extent artificial, and on its rock-walls are two inscriptions, a short one in relief upon the north, and a longer one incised on the south. The shorter inscription consists simply of four groups of signs.[4] The other is longer, comprising twelve groups of signs in a row, in addition to the same royal name, which in the middle recurs with little variation in its hieroglyphic form, though surmounted in this case by a winged emblem. There appears in this inscription a hieroglyphic sign otherwise unknown, resembling a horned altar.[1]

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[1] *Luke the Physician*, pp. 163, 164.

[2] By the late Miss Gertrude Bell, 1907.

[3] Ramsay, *op. cit.*, Pls. xiv., xv.

[4] Translated by Professor Sayce to mean ‘Tarkyanas, the supreme king,’ *Proc. S.B.A.* (March, 1909), xxxi. p. 86, Pl. vii. No. 5.

Kizil Dagh.—In the same neighbourhood, about eight miles to the north-west, an outlying rocky hill called Kizil Dagh rises sharply from the plain to a height of nearly four hundred feet. The summit of this knoll is crowned with a fortress, the early character of which is betokened, says the discoverer,[2] by its style and by three hieroglyphic inscriptions found near by. We are not yet told the precise nature of the ramparts, but the position of the fortress recalls those of Giaour-Kalesi, Boghaz-Keui, and Karaburna. Near a gate in the western wall, on the right-hand side, the longest inscription of the series is to be seen upon a sort of rock altar. The hieroglyphs are carved in relief, and arranged in two rows. As with the inscription on the Kara Dagh, the same royal name appears in the middle of the group of signs, surmounted, it would seem, by a winged disc. Lower down on the hill, but still upon the shoulder, there rises a sharp rock, roughly hewn into the form of a high-backed seat or throne on the back of which is engraved a bearded figure. The personage is represented as seated on a square-shaped throne, his feet upon a stool; but the details of the design are unlike anything else that has been recorded.[3] Much of its peculiarity may be attributed to the unskilled hand that carved it, but there are certain features rendered with deliberation that are worthy of note. The left arm is outstretched, and the hand grasps a staff with crescental knob, which is held vertically towards the top. The lower end

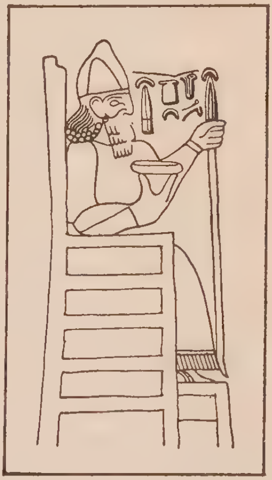

Fig. 11.—Enthroned God on Kizil Dagh.
(*See also Pl. XXXII.*)

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[1] Sayce, *op. cit.*, Pl. viii. No. 6. Cf. pp. 91-2 and fig. 5.
[2] Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 160 and Pl. xvi.
[3] *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1909 (March), Pl. vii.

of the staff stops short above the stool, possibly in obedience to the general convention of perspective in Hittite art. Were the drawing completed, indeed, after our own convention, with the vanishing point suitably chosen, it would be found that the staff seemed to rest upon the stool. In the right hand, which is just in front of the body, there seems to be a cup.[1] The dress is not clearly drawn, but there is the suggestion, by a simple oblique line, of a loose fold or possibly the loose end of a toga across the body. The hem of the skirt is fringed. No footgear is apparent, and the head-dress is apparently a degradation of the familiar conical hat, reduced in this case to an inverted V-shape by unskilled drawing. The hair falls straight and backwards upon the shoulders. The seat is curious, and plainly simulates a substantial chair of wood. The back is a solid upright piece, square cut, and the side-pieces which form the arms are lateral strips, connecting the front legs with the back. The footstool is similar in style. Whatever doubt might be entertained as to the Hittite origins for this carving is dispelled by the presence of a group of hieroglyphs appearing characteristically between the top of the staff and the face, and these signs are at once recognisable as forming the same group which we have met with three times previously in the same vicinity, namely, the royal name read by Professor Sayce *Tarkyanas*.[2] The same name appears in two other places on the same rock. In the one case it is followed by two short lines of inscription, incised like the rest, and the spelling of the name seems to illustrate an interchangeability of two hieroglyphic signs. Surmounting the whole there is a winged emblem, in which the central portion seems to be composed of two crescents underneath a disc (which is also divided like a crescent). Above the emblem there appear the symbol of sanctity (the divided oval) and the hieroglyph which represents the name of the god.[3] The same arrangement, with slight variations, is repeated with the other occurrence of the name, which in this case, however, is spelt as in the earlier instances. The centre of the winged emblem may be seen to be a rosette, with a curious spreading object below. Above, two dots follow the name; and by the side appears the picture-sign of a human arm bent as in adoration.

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[1] Professor Sayce does not agree with Professor Ramsay's interpretation, which we adopt in lack of an alternative explanation, and especially in view of the parallels afforded by the sculptures of Eyuk (Pl. XXX. *a*) and of Sakje-Geuzi (Pl. XLIX).

[2] Professor Ramsay (*op. cit.*, p. 160) reproduces the name as Tarkuattes; but the form given by Professor Sayce (*S.B.A.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 86) corresponds closely with the name of a Hittite leader, *Targannas*, recorded by Ramses II. Cf. Gardiner, *J.E.A.*, vi. p. 280, n. 1.

[3] The sign is ideographic, and the reading is presumably Teshub or

These two groups of inscriptions, and the carving which accompanies them, awaken several interesting thoughts. The most important point is one which might be easiest lost sight of, namely, that these sacred places are sought on rocky points or hilltops, bearing out the suggestion of the sculptures near Boghaz-Keui,[1] in which there may be reasonably suspected the surviving traces of mountain-cults, or cults of mountain deities, underlying the newer religious symbolism. There the idea is conveyed in the drawings, here in fact. Who this deity was, in his local guise at any rate, we do not learn, but presumably he was a local version of Teshub, just as at Boghaz-Keui most of the various local deities seem to be identified with the chief national god of Ḫatti. The monuments before us, then, probably belong to the time when the cult of this god was dominant, as under the Ḫattic rulers, or during the later ascendancy of GREATER CILICIA as head-state of the Hittite confederacy. As for the name repeated in each inscription, the fact that the winged rosette, or winged emblem of sorts, overspreads it in four instances, leads us to infer from the analogy of similar Hittite monuments[2] that the name is that of the king-priest of the locality. We recognise then in our *Tarkyanas* (by whatever name he may have been called) the local dynast of the period of the sculptures, who was the chief minister and representative of the local god.

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its local variant Sandes (or Sandon). The same sign seems to denote the storm-god elsewhere (*e.g.* the Babylonian Hadad) on the Hittite monument found at Babylon (Sayce, *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1904, p. 306). Dr. Winckler, when first discussing the archives of Boghaz-Keui, supported this view that 'Tessup' was the name of the national Hittite deity, and this is now confirmed.

[1] Above, Pl. XXIV, and pp. 98, 104, 107. Notice also the altar on the Pass of Kuru-Bel, p. 220, Pl. XLII.

[2] Cf. p. 112, where it is noted that in the archives of Boghaz-Keui the king was called the Sun-god. Winckler, *Mitteil. der Deut. Orient. Ges. zu Berlin*, Dec. 1907, No. 35.

Who, then, is the seated figure? It may be naturally thought that the group of hieroglyphs repeating the same name decide that fact, but we are led on further consideration to incline to another conclusion. For there is no single example in Hittite art where the king is represented seated or enthroned. On the other hand, it is the god who is found to be enthroned, and the king appears in such scenes by virtue of his priestly office. In this case the winged emblem does not accompany the writing of the name between the figure and his staff; hence it is conceivable that we have here a representation of the deity called by a name which was that used also by the priest; if this be so, then it may be assumed that the priest has really adopted to himself a name similar to, or compounded of, that by which the god was known in the locality.[1]

There is one further point of importance which these inscriptions illuminate. It is hardly to be doubted but that they are all contemporary, especially as we have reason to believe that they each contain the name of the same living person. Yet the different styles in which they are carved—some in relief, others incised, some badly drawn, others outlined with more care—would have otherwise given scope for argument as to different periods of origin. We may dismiss, at any rate, for the future, the arguments as to period based merely upon the difference between relief-work and incision, irrespective of style and details.[2]

KARAJA DAGH.—The plain is broken between ICONIUM and TYANA by a low ridge called the Karaja Dagh. On the northern side of this, an isolated mass of rocks rises from the plain, and is known as the Arissama Dagh. On one of its highest peaks an ancient fortress, called naturally Arissama Kaleh, commands a track which skirts the northern shoulder of the ridge and looks down on the remains of a village called Eski Kishla (Old Winter Quarters), about four miles distant to the west. The place is now hardly inhabited, save for a few half-starving nomads; but there are considerable traces of an ancient site in the squared stones to be found among the débris. Here there has been found a remarkable stone altar of mushroom shape, and inscribed in the Hittite hieroglyphs.[1]

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[1] In this conclusion we differ somewhat from Professor Sayce, and agree partly with Professor Ramsay. Our argument, however, is only based on somewhat distant analogies. Cf. also Ramsay in the *Recueil, etc.*, xiv. pp. 74 ff., on the priestly office.

[2] Cf. Ramsay and Hogarth, *Recueil de Travaux*, xv. p. 26.

Emir-Ghazi.—Some three miles south-east is a village placed upon the slope of a considerable mound, where also old worked stones are excavated in quantity. Here Professor and Lady Ramsay discovered two further monuments, also inscribed; the one was a fragment of a second altar of the same form, but the original character of the other object remains uncertain, as it had been converted into a water-trough and so considerably damaged.

These three monuments[2] are an important contribution to Hittite archaeology, and their position throws considerable light upon the changed conditions and economy of the past. The altar is unique and perfect. It is forty-two inches high, cylindrical in shape, with an expanding top, the diameter of which is twenty-four and a half inches. The material is black basalt. The pedestal tapers somewhat from the base upwards, and the top spreads out sharply like a table. The Hittite hieroglyphs upon it are in relief, and form a seemingly continuous inscription, arranged around the top edge and around the shaft in six parallel rows. A conspicuous feature of the inscription[3] is the *Aedicula* (so called), being the grouping of the royal or priestly emblems in the form of a shrine (or *naiskos*) under the outspread wings attached to a rosette, and recalling closely the emblems of the priest-king at Boghaz-Keui.[4] From the second altar, the tray and bottom of which are broken away, one line of inscription is entirely missing; so too are the ends of the other lines, of which originally there were five. As in the former case the hieroglyphs are carved in relief. This form of altar, though not found elsewhere in the round, is suggested by the rock carving of Fraktin,[5] and is clearly and elaborately represented on the dromos-decorations at Eyuk.[1] In the latter case, as we have seen, the altar is placed before the enthroned bull, and towards it the priests and priestess lead up rams to the sacrifice.

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[1] By Mr. T. Callander, a member of Professor Ramsay's expedition of 1904.

[2] Ramsay, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Aberdeen, 1906), p. 178 and Pls. ix., x., xi.; *C.I.H.* (1906), p. 9 and Pls. xlix., l. Professor Ramsay found still another altar in 1907.

[3] For an exhaustive comparative study of these inscriptions see a paper by Sayce, *Proc. S.B.A.*, xxvii. (1905), pp. 21-31 and Pls. i., ii., iii., and revised note, *ibid.*, vol. xxviii. (1906), May, p. 134.

[4] See figs. 6, 7.

[5] Above, Pl. xli.

The remaining monument is so imperfect that but little can be made out as to its original nature. That it was a corner-stone is certain from the arrangement of the inscription, and we may compare it with certain monuments from Aintab[2] and from Marash.[3] Dr. Messerschmidt was inclined to ascribe to it the same form as a corner-stone with recessed angle from Carchemish.[4] However that may be, five lines of hieroglyphs in relief are partly preserved upon the two inscribed faces, the rest being cut or broken away; the height is about twenty-five inches, and the width of the sides seventeen and fifteen inches respectively.

TYANITIS.—At the eastern limits of the great plains we reach Kilisse Hissar, the site of the old-time TYANA, shut in on three sides by ridges and low outlying hills, but open to the plain, and accessible from Eregli and from Bulghar-Madên. The name is derived transparently from its Hittite form *TUWANUWA*,[5] and to judge from its importance in the minds of classical writers and from the extensive nature of its mounds and ruins it was probably the chief city of the district, even in Hittite times. Strabo[6] describes it as ‘built upon the mound of Semiramis’ which was ‘fortified with good walls.’ Curiously enough, however, no Hittite monument has yet come to light, probably because haphazard excavation in the mound is hardly possible, owing to the fact that it is almost covered by the modern houses. None the less, a Phrygian inscription of Midas[7] attests the antiquity of the site; and three separate Hittite inscriptions seen in the neighbouring places of Bor, Nigdeh, and Andaval may be reasonably believed, as is supposed, to have come from the same source.

BOR.—The most instructive and interesting of these monuments is a monumental stela from Bor, recovered in two main portions at different times at an interval of twelve years or more.[8] Even now the stone is not complete, as may be seen from our illustration: the fitted edges do not quite correspond: a small portion is missing from the height, while the left-hand edge is entirely broken away. The upper part measures thirty inches by sixteen, with a thickness of eight inches. The lower part is five inches taller, so that the whole must have been six feet or more in height. Fortunately, on the fragments that have survived, there is to be seen nearly the whole figure and face of a man, clearly the priest-king, as well as an indication of the nature and arrangement of the inscription. The figure is carved in high relief, with a projection amounting in places to three inches, and a height equivalent to eleven of the fourteen bands of the hieroglyphs which are incised upon the background. We have no means of judging how wide the stone was originally, as the bottom is fractured and the top has plainly been re-dressed since it was broken, to correspond with the narrower width. We are inclined to think that the larger and more important portion of the stone is still lacking. For the attitude of the figure is that of adoration or of a suppliant: the man is depicted not in the central position but with his back near the edge of the stone, and his hands raised before his chin, exactly as on the rock monument of Ivrîz.[1] The resemblance may well be extended, for on comparing the two priestly or kingly figures many striking features will be found in common. The most apparent difference is the arrangement of the cloak, which on the Bor stone is fastened below the throat, while on the Ivrîz sculpture it is shown to hang more loosely, so that the front edge of the fringed border trails on the ground. Otherwise the details correspond closely; in each case the cloak is embroidered in three bands, and bordered with a fringe. Even the patterns are similar, the *svastika* appearing on the stone before us in the middle of two bands decorated with diamond-pattern or 'continuous squares.' The skirt below is even more sumptuously embroidered; in each case the *svastika* fills the lowest band, and from this hangs a fringe. On the Bor fragment other elaborations are introduced,

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[1] Below, Pl. XXIX.
[2] P. 312.
[3] Pp. 227 ff.
[4] P. 281 f.
[5] Cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 47; and above, p. 12.
[6] XII. ii. 7.
[7] Above, Pl. IV.
[8] Constantinople Museum, No. 857. Hogarth, *Wandering Scholar*, p. 16;

Ramsay and Hogarth, *Recueil*, xiv. Pl. I.; Sayce, *Proc. S.B.A.*, xxviii. (1906), pp. 94 ff. and Pl. III.; Messerschmidt, *C.I.H.* (1906), Pl. XXXIII. and p. 3. For our photo, Pl. LVI., we are indebted to the authorities of the Museum of Antiquities in Constantinople.

[1] See below, Pl. XXXIV.

including the double or quadruple Ionic curve, and the rosette; an embroidered waistbelt, collar, and shoes, complete the treatment. Other features, less exceptional, conform with the old conventions: the turning-up points to the shoes, the bunched curl of hair behind the neck, the skull-cap, and the straightness of the nose. The beard is full and dressed in curls.

The inscription commences with two groups of hieroglyphs.[1] Whatever may be the precise values to be assigned to these, the initial group which contains the royal name [2] will be found to recur on the two famous monuments of Bulghar-Madên and Ivrîz. On the latter, the name appears in one place written exactly as in this instance, and in another place (as also at Bulghar-Madên) with a slight and evidently grammatical variation. This fact throws a welcome light upon the local organisation of the period.

ANDAVAL.—Of the other monuments of the locality, the fragment from Andaval—long hidden in the Greek church of that place—seems from the description given of it to have been part of a similar monument, or at any rate of a sculpture decorated with human figure and inscription.[3] The stone is broken and rounded, measuring about thirteen inches across. It shows only the top and back of the head of the figure, with two lines of incised hieroglyphs above and the beginnings of two lines behind. The hair on the head is shown by small curls, while behind the neck it falls in the characteristic bunch. The eye is seen as usual in full upon the profile of the figure, which is turned to the observer's right.

NIGDEH.—The third monument was dug out of the foundations of a house at Nigdeh.[4] It is round and moulded, and in all probability formed part of the base of a column or of a built-up pedestal of some kind. At the bottom there is a protrusion of stone for attachment, and

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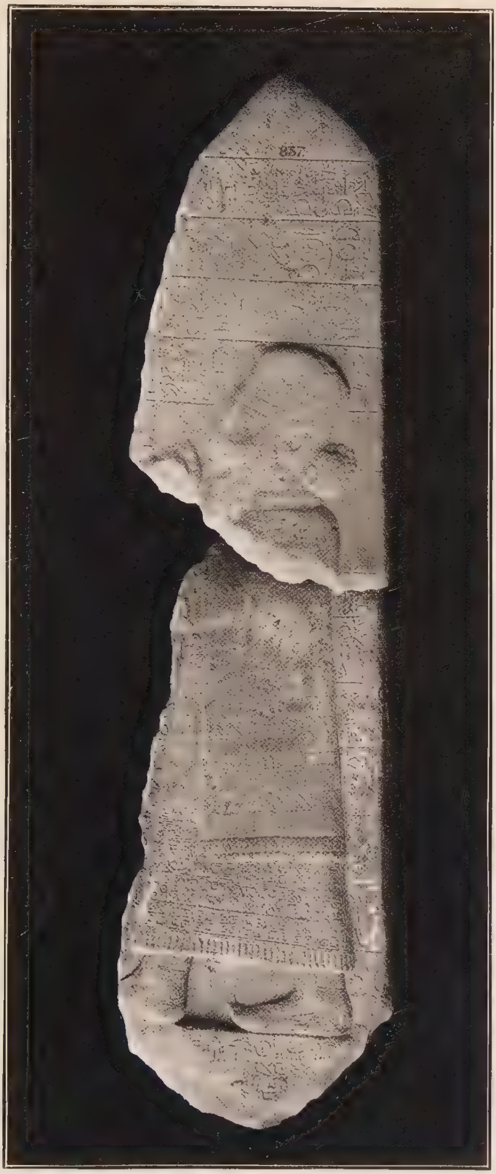
[1] Read by Professor Sayce, *Ay-mi-ny-a-s of the land of Tyana.* An earlier reading by the same decipherer suggested *Ai-m-gal-a-s* corresponding to the royal name Αιvγαλος occurring in Greek inscriptions of Cilicia. Letters dated Oct. 2, Oct. 9, 1909; also *Proc. S.B.A.*, xxvii. (1905), p. 200, and xxviii. (1906), p. 94, with Pl. III.

[2] The first five signs on the right of the first column.

[3] *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XXXI. c, and text, p. 27. Ramsay and Hogarth, *Recueil*, xiv., Pl. I. p. 84.

[4] By a botanist, Herr Walter Siehe, *C.I.H.* (1906), Pl. LIII. p. 15.



BOR : HITTITE INSCRIPTION AND RELIEF.

The subject is the King-Priest in adoration of a deity whose figure is missing.

in the top there is a square-cut socket hole, of a width equal to about a third of the whole diameter. The mouldings, which run around the upper edge only, look almost Roman in style. The inscription upon it is short, occupying a space only twelve inches by four, and the letters are incised.[1]

BULGHAR-MADÊN may be reached by crossing the outlying ridges of Taurus (a distance of thirty miles), or by turning from the main road up the valley of the stream which flows at the foot of the Bulghar Dagh.[2] In either case the monument is found near the small village of Ali Hodje, two miles below Bulghar-Madên, on the left (or north) bank of the stream; and it is to be reached only by a sharp climb up the steep side of the valley, a little way above the village. The inscription is inconspicuous, being carved on an outcrop of brown rock similar to many others in the locality at a height of some ten feet from the ground. The rock overhangs slightly, and is fairly smooth, though its rough granitic nature renders it difficult to work with ease. The inscription is in fair preservation, but it has probably never been deeply or clearly incised.[3] It fills five rows of hieroglyphs and occupies a space about four feet high and rather more than six feet wide, which is surrounded by a border-line incised to about the same depth. The rows are not all of the same length, for the two uppermost are shorter on the left hand than the others, probably in order to avoid a considerable flaw in the stone.

It is generally thought that the vicinity of the silver-mines explains the presence of this inscription. Yet the mines are some four miles distant, and a more appropriate spot near the entrance to them could have been readily found. It seems much more probable that this monument, like the stone upon a pedestal near to Bogshe, marks the boundary to a territory or state, which in this case, for the reason we have indicated, would be that ruled from TYANA.[4]

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[1] Professor Sayce suggests the following translation: 'This stone was set up by the king, the Prince of Kas.'

[2] See Pl. x. (*a*).

[3] *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XXXII. and p. 27; Hogarth and Ramsay, *Recueil*, xiv. Pl. II. and p. 85; Sayce, *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1905, p. 229. In the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology there is an enlarged photo of the original, which has been collated with the cast in the Ashmolean Museum.

[4] The general tendency of the reading given by Professor Sayce (*op. cit.*, p. 230, ll. 3 and 5) seems to confirm this opinion. Thus, 'A prince am I

Ivrîz.—We come, in conclusion, to the monument of Ivrîz,[1] which is best approached from Tyana or Iconium by way of Eregli,[2] but is also accessible to the adventurous traveller from Bulghar-Madên by traversing the rocky snow-flecked ridge that lies between. From Eregli following up the bed of the Kodja Su the dreary barren plains are left behind, and a verdant though neglected valley is unfolded. The pathway lies through old gardens and vineyards and reaches of cornland; willows line the waterside, and the country is cheered by a profusion of trees in which the hazel and chestnut abound, with here and there a great walnut or a row of poplars. The valley with its singular fertility and beauty is in marked contrast to the arid tracts beyond, and the change is only intensified where, leaving the main stream, the pathway follows up, on the left bank, a richly wooded vale that trends towards the south. This new valley leads into the mountain, and after a distance of nearly three miles it comes to an abrupt end where the wall of Taurus is met, rising almost precipitously, and encircling the head of the glen where nestles the hamlet of Ivrîz. At the foot of the rock a stream of water, clear and cool, bursts out in tremendous volume, and, supplemented by other similar sources, becomes in a hundred yards a raging and impassable torrent, roaring with a wonderful noise as it foams and leaps over the rocks in its course. Before joining the main stream of the valley it washes at a bend the foot of a bare rock, upon which from the opposite side there may be seen the famous sculptures,[3]

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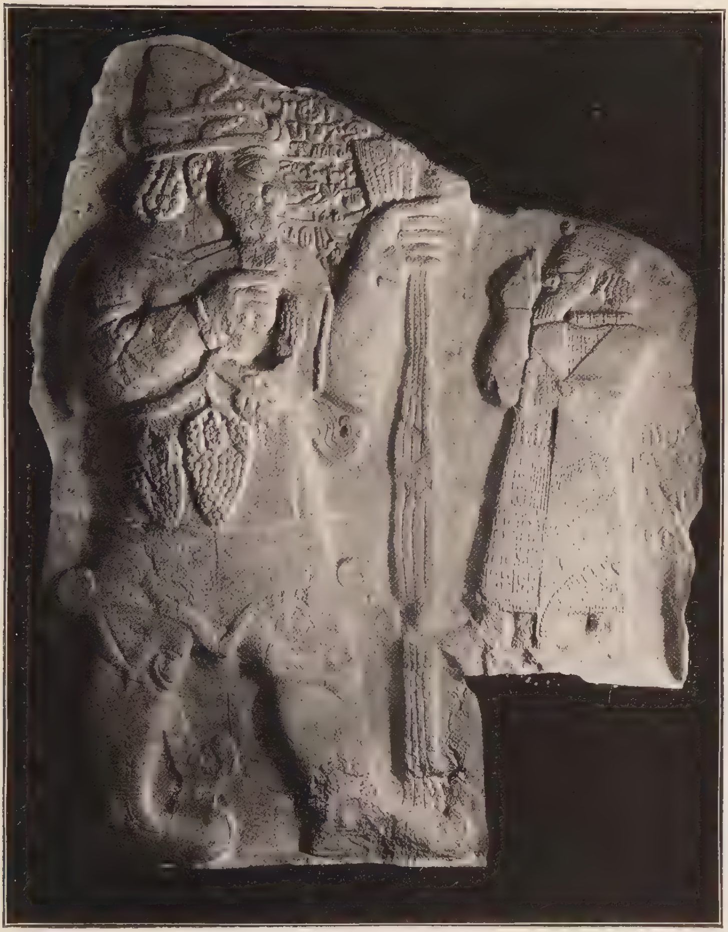
who has fixed the boundaries,' and again, 'This is the prince-god's sacred stone for the land, set up here, belonging to the boundary.' It is only fair to say that Professor Sayce regards his reading in this case as tentative; he also reads the name of the prince in this case as a 'son of Ayminyas' of Tyana; and there is another compound form of the word which may be taken for 'the land of Ayminyas.'

[1] We pronounce this word Ivreez; though locally it is commonly pronounced Ibreez owing probably to racial difficulty with the letter *v*.

[2] See ch. iii. p. 64.

[3] There is a plentiful literature on the subject. See *inter alia* for a picturesque description of the country, Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, pp. 245-8. For an account of the monument in relation to its environment, with much beauty of thought and written with charm of expression, see Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, pp. 171-9, and Pl. xxi.; also a note in *Pauline and other Studies* pp. 172, 173. For a comparative study of the religious symbolism of the monument, see Frazer, *Adonis*, *Attis*,



IVRÎZ: GIANT SCULPTURES ON THE ROCK.

The subject is the King-Priest in adoration of the Hittite god of cultivation.
From a plaster cast in the Berlin Museum.

the most striking of all known Hittite works, and one of the most imposing monuments of the ancient East.

The treatment of these sculptures is all in relief. In composition there are two persons represented: the Peasant-god, a gigantic figure fourteen feet in height, distinguished by the bunches of grapes and bearded wheat which he holds, and the King-priest, an heroic figure eight feet in height, facing towards the god, with clasped hands raised in adoration or thanksgiving for his bounty.

The god is clad in the short tunic, short-sleeved vest, pointed cap, and shoes with turned-up toes, characteristic of the godlike figures on all Hittite sculptures. But here the sculptor has elaborated his theme, and has worked into it ideas or conceptions which we may reasonably suspect were derived ultimately from the East through the intermediary of Cilicia. The figure is squat and stolid, and the face almost Semitic. The nose, while straight and prominent, is treated with unusual fulness. The hair is arranged in ringlets, so too the beard, except upon the face where it is represented by curls.[1] The left hand is advanced, holding up the ears of corn; while the right one is by the body, grasping the vine-branch with pendent clusters. The drawing of the body obeys the ordinary convention; the left leg is advanced, the head is seen in profile to the left, while the shoulders are squared to the observer. There are bracelets on the wrists, and the suggestion of something undetermined upon the right forearm. The belt is decorated as if of worked leather, and ends in a curl before the body, possibly suggesting an attachment on the further side. The boots are high, with a front flap bound to the ankle by a lace wrapped around, like the boots of the peasantry of the district and of Cilicia in modern times. Perhaps the most peculiar and Oriental detail is to be found in the horns which decorate the helmet, of which four pairs are visible. In front of the

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and Osiris (1907), pp. 93-7. Our photograph, Pl. XXXIV., taken from a plaster cast in the Asia Minor Museum at Berlin, was supplied by the late Dr. Messerschmidt, who described his visit to the spot, *C.I.H.* (1906), pp. 5, 6, and Pl. XXXIV. This photograph shows more of the delicate detail than any of the originals that have been published, in which the shadows are usually too violent.

[1] Cf. the treatment of the priest-king and other monuments at Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. XLIX.

right foot is the suggestion of a bolted implement, possibly a plough.

Facing the god, and posed at a higher level (possibly, as in other examples of Eastern art, so that the relative smallness of the figure would be less apparent), is the figure of the priest-king, who, if we mistake not the group of hieroglyphs that denote him, is the same that we have previously met with near TYANA.[1] In general style and in some details, the treatment of this figure is similar; but the dress differs in several ways. The priestly skull-cap is surrounded by three decorated fillets with a knotted ornament of jewels upon the brow. The long skirt is a richly woven garment, on which the pattern is chiefly a series of punctuated squares in parallel rows, with a *svastika* border edged with a fringe. Over the shoulders there is thrown an embroidered mantle, with ample collar, attached in front with a jewelled clasp or brooch. It falls behind to below the knees, while in front the tasselled or fringed ends trail on the ground. The pattern is arranged in three bands of continuous squares or double zigzags. There is a substantial necklace and bracelet. The boots and features are treated as in the god-figure opposite; perhaps the hair is bunched in this case a little more thickly behind the neck. The right leg is advanced, and the two raised hands are clearly clasped before the face, the fingers and nails of the further hand being represented in detail.

There are three short inscriptions accompanying these figures. In that which is carved before the face of the god, Professor Sayce[2] and Jensen both find the name of Sandes in the first line (the W-like sign below the divided oval that signifies divinity). In the next line, as in the overlap of the first and second lines of inscription behind the king, we find the same name (read Ayminyas)[3] as we have previously seen in the inscriptions of Bor and of Bulghar-Madên. This point is of importance in considering the history of the Hittite peoples when, as it seems, the central authority was no longer at Boghaz-Keui. For the date of these sculptures, if only from their close analogy in treatment to those of northern Syria, may be put down to the tenth or ninth century B.C. It would seem indeed that we are here drawn into relation with the kingdom of GREATER CILICIA, which, probably with TYANA as capital, took the place of Ḫatti as the dominant Hittite state at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.[1]

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[1] Cf. Pl. XXXIII.

[2] Sayce, *Proc. S.B.A.*, xxviii., May 1906, pp. 133, 134, with a Plate.

[3] In the former instance in a compound or variant, *Ay-mi-ny-a-si-s* (? son of Ayminyas); in the latter instance exactly as at Bor, *Ay-mi-ny-a-s*. The signs are the two last of the first row, and the three below them in the second row, of the inscription behind the king. Cf. the first five signs of the Bor inscription, Pl. XXXIII.

This point becomes more probable as we dwell upon the religious symbolism of the monument. As Professor Ramsay has shown, in the muscular toiling peasant-god who by his hoe and plough reclaims an arid waste and makes it bounteous, we have a conception of Heracles, and that he was the recognised chief deity of the district is evident from the name *Heracleia*, of which the modern Eregli is a corruption. Professor Frazer also has put it beyond doubt that the attributes of this Heracles are to be found in Sandon of TARSUS.[2] Now if Sandon, as seems probable, is to be identified with the 'Attis' or Son-god of Anatolian Nature-worship, whose image we have found portrayed at Iasily Kaya, we are in this way linked at once with the older Hittite mythology.

Looking back for a moment at this group of monuments their interest is seen to be twofold. They illustrate a new and evidently later phase of art as compared with the sculptures of the capital, or those of the South-west, from both of which they are distinct. They are moreover homogeneous in themselves, and related by their inscriptions, giving proof of a local rule and organisation extending over the whole TYANITIS to the border line of Taurus.

[1] See what is said on this subject in a previous chapter, p. 12 f.

[2] *The Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis and Osiris* (1914), i. 125, 126 n., 143, 161.

CHAPTER VII

THE COASTLANDS AND MONUMENTS OF THE WEST

(*a*) Pontus and Bithynia : The Troad. (*b*) Lydia with its Monuments.
(*c*) Caria : Lycia, Cilicia Tracheia and Cilicia.

(*a*) *The Northern Coastlands*

The coastlands for the purpose of this chapter comprise all the territory between the inner border-line of the plateau, as we have defined it,[1] and the sea-coast around the peninsula. Our description of these tracts will be brief, because with two exceptions they have yielded no monumental evidence of Hittite penetration. None the less, there are suggestive indications of Hittite cultural influence prevailing around the seaboard, and it may be regarded as axiomatic that the power which from *Ḫattusas* raided Babylon and ruled over Syria must at all times have influenced, and often dominated the coastlands of the neighbouring territory.

We have already spoken of some of the regions in the North, particularly that which faces the eastern waters of the Black Sea, and formed in later days the kingdom of Pontus. From Trebizond eastwards the condition of the country in Hittite times is unknown,[2] but the seaport of Trapezus itself, if correctly identified with *Teburzia* of the texts,[3] was in close relation with the peoples of *Ḫarri* and of *Gasga*,[4] with whom its own populations united sometimes in rebellion and in raid. If these two countries are to be located, as the evidence seems to indicate, in Armenia and in Armenia Minor respectively,[5] their connection with Trebizond may be explained as the natural outcome of its communication by several well-marked but lofty inland passes with Erzerum and the upper valley of the Halys.

[1] Ch. iii. and map, p. 54.

[2] Cf. p. 52.

[3] 1 *K.Bo.*, No. 1, obv. ll. 13, 22 ; Luckenbill, *A.J.S.L.*, xxxvii. p. 164.

[4] See p. 30 and n. 1.

[5] *Index H.N.*, pp. 14 and 18 ; also *J.E.A.* xi. p. 31.

On the other hand there is no ready contact between the port and its western neighbours, except along the shore itself, so that direct communication with Ḫatti was restrained if not impracticable. It may be added that Trebizond itself possesses little more than an open roadstead which is exposed to the strong prevailing westerly winds. A small mole of modern construction offers some shelter from these, but the coastal breezes veer treacherously between sunset and dawn and make the anchorage difficult and insecure. For landing purposes there are two beaches, one at the head of the bay, and the other near the eastward point ELEUSA at the mouth of a small river.[1]

The coastland of PONTUS from this point to the port of Sinub (SINOPE) has already been discussed in connection with the Land of Ḫatti, with which we found it to be physically associated.[2] Westward of SINOPE as far as the mouth of the SANGARIUS, the whole territory between the enclosing mountains and the sea is a blank page in Hittite history.[3] Not only are the ranges high and forbidding, but their slopes were given over to large areas of primeval forest. We know little more of those portions of BITHYNIA around the mouth of the SANGARIUS, though it must be recognised that through this territory there passed an active avenue of communication with Europe by way of the BOSPHORUS. A coast route also connected with the Hellespont along the shores of the Sea of Marmora. Its line is defined by Roman roads, by way of CYZICUS and the foot of the Mysian OLYMPUS, whence it passed by DORYLAEUM and the Midas City, to PESSINUS or GORDIUM, and so, as at the present day, directly to ANCYRA (Angora).

We come now to the Troad, in the north-west corner of the peninsula. This part of the coast was separated from the land of Ḫatti by the Phrygian area, and we have already noticed that the lie and nature of the land between PHRYGIA and the Hellespont does not foster direct communication. In general the rivers that drain into the Sea of Marmora and the intervening ridges present a parallel series of obstacles, with the result that the main lines of contact with the Hellespont must pass along the coast,

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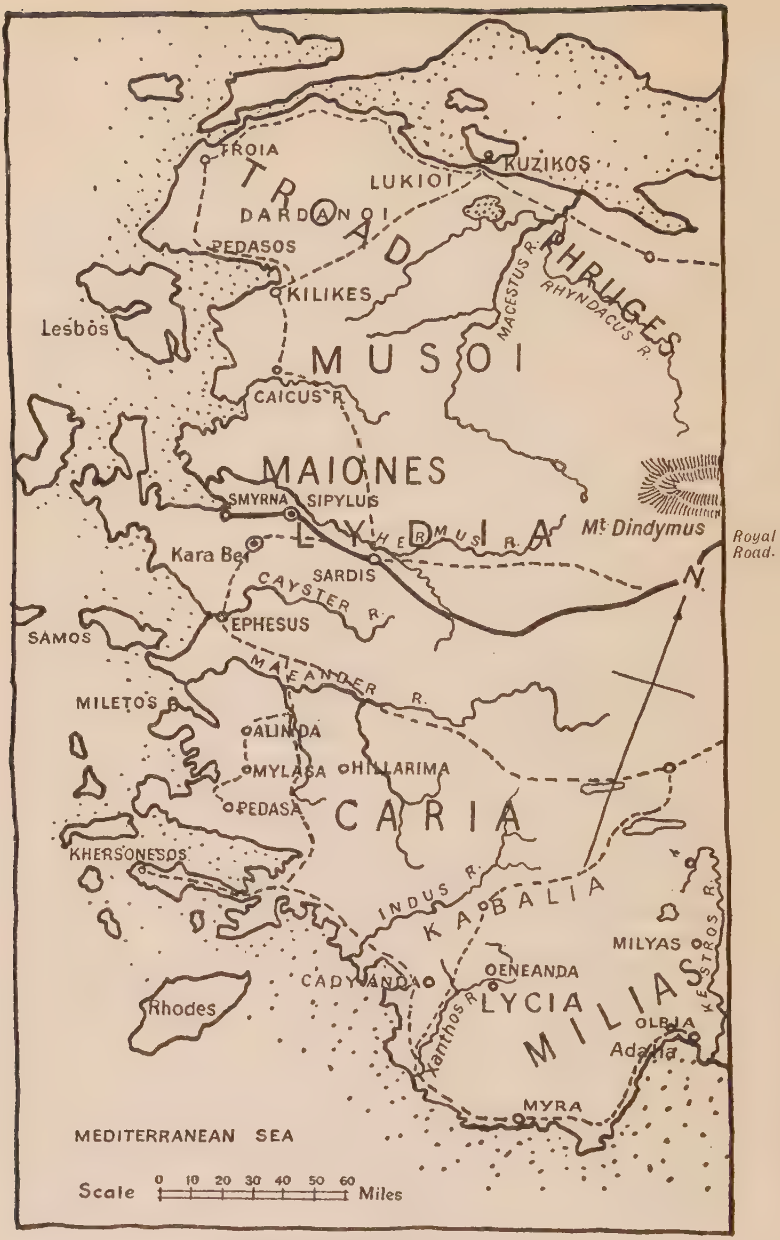
[1] *The Black Sea Pilot*, pp. 417-18 with Plate.
[2] Ch. iv. p. 74.
[3] Cf. p. 52.


TROIA
TROAD
KUZIKOS
LUKIOI
DARDANOI
PHRUGES
PEDASOS
MACESTUS R.
RHYNDACUS R.
KILIKES
Lesbos
MUSOI
CAICUS R.
MAIONES
SMYRNA
SIPYLUS
LYDIA
HERMUS R.
Mt Dindymus
Royal Road.
Kara Bel
SARDIS
CAYSTER R.
N.
SAMOS
EPHESUS
MAEANDER R.
MILETOS
ALINDA
MYLASA
HILLARIMA
PEDASA
CARIA
KHERSONESOS
INDUS R.
KABALIA
MILYAS
KESTROS R.
CADYANDA
OENEANDA
Xanthos R.
LYCIA
MILIAS
OLBIA
Adalia
Rhodes
MYRA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Scale
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
Miles

THE WESTERN COASTLANDS.

In the Troad, Hittite allies (p. 172). In Lydia, Hittite monuments (pp. 174-8). In Caria and Lycia, sites possibly mentioned in the Ḫattic archives (p. 179).

whether southward towards the valley of the CAICUS and the HERMUS, or by the route just indicated to rejoin the SANGARIUS. Intercourse between Europe and the interior of Asia Minor by way of the Hellespont must have been restrained by this feature, which, however, as history shows, afforded no radical protection against organised movements from either side. The impediment was none the less just sufficient to isolate the Troad and lend a certain independence to its history and development. It is true that a Lydian tradition perpetuated by Pausanias suggests that Troy was connected with the interior by a route that passed up the valley of the RHYNDACUS, and associates this road with a 'Syrian King' or deity.[1] This valley, however, is too short and lies too far east to serve as a main line of communication between the Hellespont and the plateau, and for that reason, no doubt, seems never to have been followed by any main road in classical or modern times. None the less this tradition recalls the expression 'White Syrian' applied to the later Cappadocian Hittites.[2] There is also a suggestive allusion in Hipponax to 'Tos of the line of King Mutallis'[3] in connexion with the monuments on the road through Lydia. It is consequently significant to find that in 1288 B.C. at the battle of Kadesh where all the Hittite confederates were assembled, a group of warrior tribes bearing the same names as those of later Trojan allies fought on the side of Mutallis the King of Ḫatti. So far as is known, this was their first and only appearance in the Hittite ranks, but it is none the less significant. Even though fighting as mercenaries tempted by Hittite gold, of which there is a taunting suggestion in the Egyptian record of the struggle, the fact represents, none the less, the wide range of Hittite influence at the time. This indication is confirmed in other ways, as we shall see when discussing the Hittite monuments of LYDIA. The names of these peoples, as recorded by the Egyptians,[4] are readily identified in several instances with those of the Homeric catalogue; and we quote them from the instructive monograph by W. J. Phythian-Adams who first pointed out this pregnant fact.[1]

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[1] Pausanias, x. xxi. 7.

[2] Herodotus, i. 76; Strabo XII. iii. 9.

[3] Pointed out by Ramsay, *Asian Elements in Greek Civilisation* (London, 1927), p. 70. The monuments are described below, p. 176 f.

[4] Cf. Breasted, *A.R.*, iii. 306.

Egyptian Names.	Homeric Names.
Iliunna (?)	Troes (of Ilion).
Derden	Dardanoi.
Luka	Lukioi.
	Pelasgoi of Larisa.
Pedes	Leleges of Pedasos.
Keleskesh	Kilikes of Thebe.
Mesa	Musoi.
	Phruges.
(Mawunna ?)	Maiones.
Keshkesh	(? Kyzikos).

It will not escape notice that in any case these names announce the presence of Dardanian tribes in Asia Minor. How long they had been there, whether settled or whether indeed tempted from Europe for the occasion, are problems upon which we have no independent evidence. But the record, also due to Homer,[2] that Priam fought in his youth on the side of the Phrygians against the Amazons by the Sangarius, seems to indicate further relations and a change of alliance. In the *Odyssey*, again, there occurs an unexplained reference to Keteans,[3] a name which simulates that of the Ḫattians more closely than any other.[4] These allusions are shadowy, it is true, but they are all accordant with the suggested distant contact between Ḫatti and the Troad before the fall of Ḫattusas and Troy.

(b) *The West, with the Monuments of* Sipylus *and Kara-Bel*

Passing now down the western coast we reach the area of later Lydia, a district which enters definitely into Hittite history from the evidence of its monuments. The valleys of the CAICUS, HERMUS, and MAEANDER not only water fertile valleys, richer in alluvium than any portions of the highland plateau, but they provide natural channels of approach between the interior and the coast. Indeed the valley of the HERMUS has a particular interest in that through it descended the main western road, the line of which is marked by a series of Hittite monuments,[1] and by the physical traces of the road itself.[2] The local monuments indicate a connection between EPHESUS and SARDIS by the pass of Kara-Bel where on a rock is carved a great image of the Hittite Warrior-god in Ḫattic style.[3] Another branch coming from the coast near the old site of SMYRNA passed under Mount SIPYLUS, whereon is carved an image of the Mother-goddess. The road was joined at SARDIS by a route from the Troad, whence continuing at first eastwards, and then working its way up to the plateau with considerable difficulty in a north-easterly direction, it passed by Bey-Keui, where a Hittite inscription has been found, and emerged eventually into the area of the Phrygian monuments, some of which suggest strongly Hittite motives. Thence by PESSINUS, the centre of an ancient cult, and round the foot of DINDYMUS, it crossed the SANGARIUS near Yarre, followed up one of its tributaries, and traversed the watershed in the neighbourhood of the Hittite rock carvings of Giaour-Kalesi. From that point it probably descended to the HALYS, which it crossed presumably at Chesme Keupri by the historic ford. It is instructive to notice that the road from EPHESUS followed this northern line, though the valley of the MAEANDER presented easier access to the plateau. It was not until a later age, when a new objective had arisen, that the southern route was developed. Even

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[1] In the first Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, *Hittite and Trojan Allies.* Cf. also P. Giles in *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, ii. p. 8.

[2] *Iliad*, iii. 185.

[2] Κήτειοι, *Odyssey*, xi. 521.

[4] The full interest of these and other obscure legends is now becoming visible, thanks to the increasing light from the Hittite archives. We may note the ancient friendship claimed between Lycians and Achaeans (in the person of Glaucus and Diomede, *Iliad*, vi. 232 ff.) seems to be substantiated in part by their joint raid on the coast of Egypt in the

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reign of Merneptah, a generation before the fall of Ḫattusas and hence presumably of Troy. A reflection of the presence of Dardanians in Syria at Kadesh and their relations with the Hittite King Mutallis is found in one of the legends associated with Paris quoted below, pp. 183-4.

[1] These are found from East to West at Giaour-Kalesi, Yarre, Doghanlu Daressi, Bey-Keui; in Lydia on Mt. SIPYLUS and the pass of Kara-Bel.

[2] The road itself is traceable in PHRYGIA (our Pl. XIII.). On the survival of this line as the royal Persian road, cf. Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 29, and for its eastern extensions *via* Malatia, Anderson, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xvii. p. 41. On the latter point see also below, ch. viii. pp. 189-91. Cf. further, Calder, in the *Classical Review* (1925).

[3] On the question of date see the instructive record of Hipponax, and on the latter point also, below, p. 179.

under the Persians, when the old Hittite capital had lost its importance as the road centre of the peninsula, the high-road from the Persian capital to the Aegean coast still took the established northern route.

We have already spoken of the predominant influence in the religious rites at EPHESUS of the old Hittite religion,[1] and shown how the social and political organisation of historic LYDIA was based directly upon its Hittite inheritance. These facts, combined with the presence of distinctive monuments, show conclusively that this part of the coast, at any rate, was at one time dominated by the Ḫattic kings. Indeed there is a strong suggestion in the records of the Hittite Wadduwattas [2] that the earliest line of Lydian rulers, the Atyadae, predecessors of the Heracleidae, were already vassals or allies of the kings of Ḫatti before the fall of the capital; [3] and the Lydian kingdom alone emerged intact from the great disturbances that followed the fall of *ḪATTUSAS* and of Troy.

Those monuments which tell of the Hittite influence in the extreme West are found, as we have indicated, on the mountains of SIPYLUS and TMOLUS, not far in either case from Smyrna. The river HERMUS before entering the sea flows about a mile distant on the northern side of Mount SIPYLUS. On the other bank there stretches out a considerable expanse of highly fertile plain. The road and railway pass between the river and the mountain, and from them may be plainly seen the famous sculpture. It is several hundred feet up the slope, involving a sharp climb up the débris and soil accumulated at the foot. Above, the cliffs rise sheer and almost precipitous.[4]

The monument occupies a recess specially prepared, about forty feet in height, while the figure itself is over thirty feet high. This gigantic sculpture, perhaps on

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[1] P. 114.

[2] Madduwattas (*Mitt. der Vorderas.-Aeg. Ges.*, 1927). Transl. by Dr. Albrecht Götze, 1927.

[3] See what is said on this subject, above, p. 18.

[4] For a description of the mountain, and a comparative study of the religion of the famous monument, see a paper by Ramsay, 'Sipylus and Cybele,' in *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, iii. pp. 33-68. Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii. pp. 234 ff., and fig. 365; Weber, *Le Sipylus et ses Monuments* (Paris, 1880); *C.I.H.* (1900), Pls. XXXVII., XXXVIII., and text, p. 33.

VIEW NEAR SARDIS, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF LYDIA.

The valley of the Pactolus, a tributary of the Hermus, which rises on Mt. Tmolus flowed past the temple of Cybele at Sardis.

account of its accessibility, has been more noticed in writings, ancient and modern, than any other. Its present condition,[1] however, leaves us no chance of forming any new opinion as to its original meaning and character. Fortunately on both points there remains little doubt, in spite of a considerable controversy, which is, however, now no longer of interest. As to its meaning, we are guided by the studied words of Pausanias,[2] read in the light of modern information, to believe that it was a rock image of the Mother-goddess; and as to its character, we may see in its present weathered state the indications of a sculpture in very high relief, almost indeed in the round though not disengaged from the rock, which once represented a female seated, with her feet presumably upon a stool. The head of the figure is seemingly inclined forward, and the form of the female bust may still be recognised. Those who previously may have thought the carving to represent a bust upon a pedestal were deceived by its present appearance, for certain hieroglyphs [3] in the recess near the head attest its Hittite origin: the motive of bust and pedestal finds no place in the category of Hittite art, while the seated figure of the Mother-goddess has its counterpart in the Hittite sculptures at Eyuk [4] and Fraktin.[5] The inscription in question is very fragmentary, though certain characteristic symbols can be recognised, notably the tip-tilted shoe and the horned (ram's) head. Certain of its signs reappear, as Professor Sayce has pointed out, in an inscription from Emir-Ghazi.[6]

It would seem that classical writers, following generally in the footsteps of Homer, confounded this image with another object, a natural rock on the same mountain, which tradition associated with Niobe, and would seem indeed to have conveyed a suggestion of her weeping form. Thus Homer [7] sings that 'Niobe, turned to stone, upon arid Sipylus broods o'er her sorrows'; and so again Ovid: [8] 'Fastened to the rock she weeps, and the marble sheds tears.'

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[1] See Pl. xxxvi. facing p. 176.

[2] Pausanias, iii. xxii. 4, quoted below.

[3] Dennis, *Proc. S.B.A.*, iii. p. 49; Sayce, *ibid.*, vol. vii. Pl. v.; *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. xxxviii.

[4] Pl. xxx. (*a*).

[5] Pl. xli.

[6] Above, p. 159.

[7] *Iliad* xxiv. 615.

[8] *Metamorphoses*, vi. 310.

Fortunately Pausanias, himself probably a native of this country, ascertained the facts and showed how the confusion had arisen. ‘This Niobe,’ he says,[1] ‘I myself saw when I ascended Mount Sipylus; close at hand it is merely a rock and a cliff, with no resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you stand farther off, you will think you see a weeping woman bowed with grief.’ This is clearly the Niobe of Homer, Ovid, and Sophocles, and clearly also the smoothed appearance of the rock above the image of the Mother-goddess (which is not, it seems, due at all to the action of the water) was one of the reasons accounting for the confusion. As to the identity of the image, Pausanias leaves us in no doubt when he says,[2] ‘Here (at Aeriae) there is a temple of the Mother of the Gods, with a stone image of her: both are worth seeing. The people of Aeriae say that it is the most ancient sanctuary of this goddess in the Peloponnese. The oldest of all her images,[3] however, is on the rock of Coddinus at Magnesia, to the north of Sipylus: the Magnesians say it was made by Broteas, son of Tantalus.’ Finally the same writer makes his distinction apparent by showing that he was aware of the passage in Homer referring to the story of Niobe.[4]

We do not dwell upon this sculpture since the ancient writers have told all that can be usefully said about it. The Mother-goddess was the oldest established deity of the land, and this was one of her earliest effigies. We do not know the local attribute, if any, of the goddess, but the monument bears upon it the proof of its Hittite origin.[5]

The other Hittite monuments of the West on the pass of Kara-Bel are comparatively near at hand. A stream which feeds the HERMUS, flowing around the eastern foot of Mount SIPYLUS, comes down from the valley which separates that mountain on the South from the opposite slopes of

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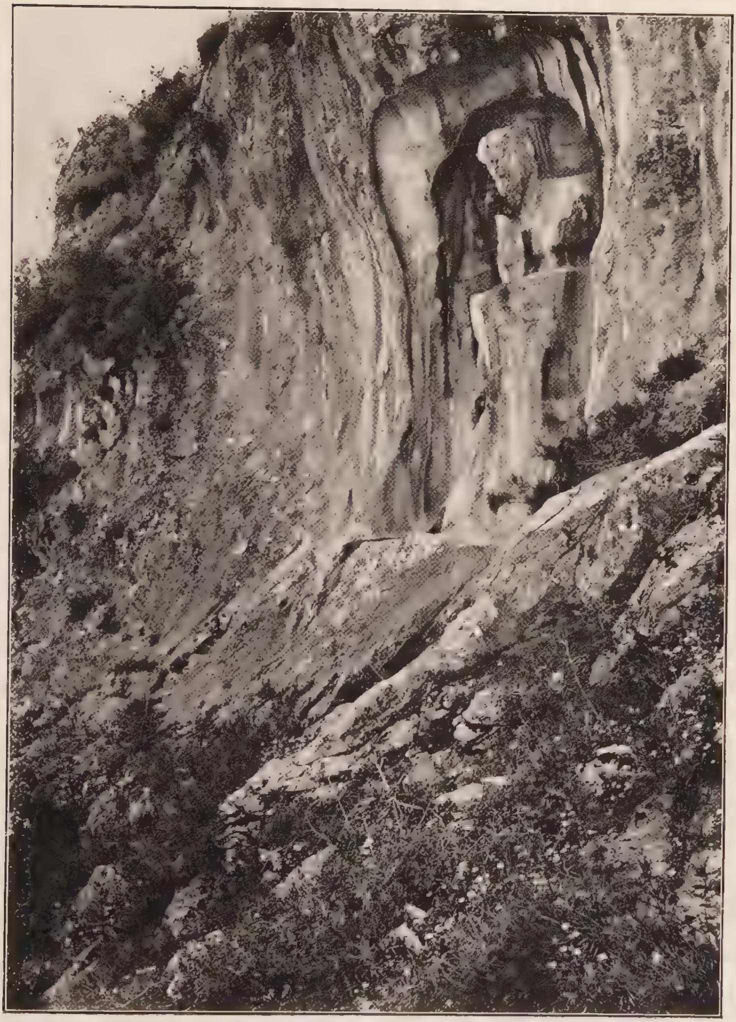
[1] Pausanias, trans. Frazer, I. xxi. 3.

[2] Pausanias, trans. Frazer, III. xxii. 4.

[3] Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 236, where this passage is translated: ‘A statue of the Mother of the Gods, the oldest goddess of all.’ The Greek runs: *μητρὸς θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἁπάντων ἄγαλμα.* There can be no doubt, however, as to the identity of the monument.

[4] Pausanias, VIII. xxxviii. 10.

[5] Cf. Ramsay, *Jour. Hell. Stud.* (*loc. cit.*), iii. p. 41 etc., p. 54. Also Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, i. p. 494. On the place of this cult in the Hittite religion, see pp. 114 ff.



MT. SIPYLUS: GIANT IMAGE OF THE MOTHER-GODDESS.

Olympus. The bed of another small tributary leads up these southern slopes to a narrow wooded glen upon the ridge, in which are the sources of the Kara Su. Through this glen there passes a track, now not much used, connecting Ephesus to the South with Sardis or Smyrna by the northern valley. About seventy feet above this track, in the perpendicular face of the cliff, a niche of rock encloses a sculpture in relief. The niche is about six feet wide at the base and nine feet high, being considerably narrower at the top.[1] The figure within is that of a warrior, similar to those of Giaour-Kalesi, and resembling the god-figures at Boghaz-Keui. He stands facing to his left, his left leg and arm advanced, and his shoulders squared to the observer. He wears a short tunic and short-sleeved vest and high boots, which in some early drawings are shown as turning up at the toes.[2] The conical Hittite hat completes his costume. A triangular-shaped bow is carried over his right shoulder, and his extended left hand seems to grasp a long staff or spear.[3] The sculpture, being on the east side of the ravine, is turned towards Ephesus. There is another similar sculpture on a detached block of stone some two hundred and fifty yards farther up the pass. This stone seems to have fallen from the rocks above, and it now lies on the west side near the stream, about twelve yards below the level of the path. As it lies the sculptured face is towards

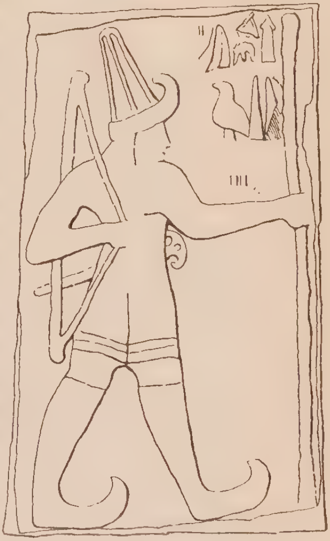


Fig. 12.
Warrior-god of Kara-Bel.

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[1] See the drawing, fig. 12, made from a cast in the Liverpool Museum.

[2] Texier, *Description*, vol. ii. Pl. cxxxii.; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 229, fig. 362.

[3] Alternatively a sword held aloft; the markings on the stone above and below the hand are not in line. Cf. the god 2 L. at Boghaz-Keui, Pl. xxiv.

the East, and the figure being turned as in the former case, towards the left, looks to the North.

It is curious that there is no mention of these sculptures by Pausanias. Herodotus, however, describes them as images of Sesostris,[1] 'the one on the way from Ephesus to Phocaea, the other from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places a man is carved, four and a half cubits high, bearing a spear in his right hand, and in his left a bow; and the rest of his equipment is in unison, for it is partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian. From one shoulder to the other there extend across the breast sacred Egyptian characters, incised, which read as follows: "I acquired this region by my own shoulders." Who or whence he is he does not here show.' It is clear that Herodotus was writing from hearsay: there is just enough general accuracy in his account to identify the monuments, and enough discrepancy to make it apparent that he had not visited them himself. The details as to position we have already noticed; and Professor Sayce has shown that the inscription, so far from being across the breast of the figure and in Egyptian characters, is found in the characteristic place, between the spear and the head of the figure,[2] and consists of a group of Hittite hieroglyphs, in which certain symbols can be recognised. On the fallen block no trace of inscription remains, as the sculpture has suffered mutilation; in fact, a Yuruk's tent was at one time pitched against it, and the niche was used as a fireplace. But sufficient remains to make it demonstrable that no Egyptian inscription ran across the breast. We can hardly hesitate to identify this figure with one of the two forms of the Hittite national deity, seen already at Giaour-Kalesi, in the aspect of a God of Arms.[3] The chief interest of this monument proves, however, to be historical. Professor Sir Wm. Ramsay has pointed out a significant reference by Hipponax in a passage which is now rendered intelligible by a ready amendment of the text. The poet is evidently describing in his peculiar style selected features of the western section of the royal road, and the relevant extract mentions successively : (i) the tomb of the Attales ; (ii) the ‘ Sema of Gyges ’ and the great city ; (iii) the stela and tumulus of Tos of the line of Mutallis the King.[1] The third item evidently alludes to the monument of Kara-Bel near the road, and Professor Ramsay further recalls that a tumulus still marks the entrance to the pass. This reference is thus of unique importance, indicating a date during the Ḫattic regime, not long after the age of King Mutallis (*c*. 1315-1290 B.C.), for the inception of the monument ; and this conforms with the indications derived from other sources [2] as to the historic relations between Ḫatti and the western coastlands at that time.

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[1] Herodotus, ii. 106.

[2] *Trs. S.B.A.*, vii. pp. 266, 439, and *Proc. S.B.A.*, xxi. p. 222; also in *The Hittites*, pp. 67 ff. Cf. *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. xxxix. and p. 38.

[3] Cf. the second figure (L.) both at Iasily Kaya and at Giaour-Kalesi, which we take to represent Teshub of Ḫatti in each case (pp. 114, 147).

(*c*) *The Southern Coastlands*

The definite evidence of Ḫattic influence in the central district of the western coast lends weight to the suggestion of Hittite influence in the Troad and in CARIA. As regards the latter district, the indications are less satisfactory, being derived chiefly from Ḫattic records in which geographical positions themselves constitute a problem. There are mentioned, however, in the story of Wadduwattas, a number of place-names clearly related to the western parts of the peninsula, and one of these, *KHURSUNASSA*, seems to be transparently the Hittite form of CHERSONESOS.[3] This name was applied (how early is not known) to the peninsula of CARIA. With this clue other names mentioned in the texts, namely

WALLARIMA, *IALANTI*, *BITASSA*, *MARASA*, *MILLAWANDA*,

seem to identify themselves respectively with

HILLARIMA, ALINDA, PEDASA, MYLASA, MILETOS, all Carian sites.[1] Though this suggestion is striking and plausible, and satisfies one aspect of the texts, the reader should none the less be aware that the final interpretation of the documents may lead to a different explanation of what in that case would be a curious and misleading coincidence. There is a further link, as we have already noticed, between CARIA and the Hittite world in the tradition associated with the double axe related by Plutarch.[2] This emblem, sacred to the Hittite youthful god (himself identified in a later age with Sandon and Heracles) was secured, the legend says, from the Amazon Queen Hippolyte by Heracles, and became the emblem of the kings of Lydia until it was wrested from Kandaules, last of the Heracleidae, by the Carian Arselis and carried off in triumph to MYLASA, where it became the familiar emblem in the restored shrine of Zeus Labrandeus.

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[1] Ramsay, *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* (Gifford Lectures, 1915), 1927, pp. 145-60. The crucial passage (ii) reads :

καὶ στήλην καὶ μνῆμα Τῶτος Μυτάλιδι πάλμυδος.

This result pays tribute at the same time to the genius of Professor A. H. Sayce, who collaborates with Sir William Ramsay in his conclusions and first deduced the name from the Hittite hieroglyphs on the monument, rendering the name Tu(a)-ti. This is parallel with the form Tottês which occurs on certain Greek inscriptions, and with the Vannic Tuates which reproduces the Greek τεάττης (*Nich. Dam.*, 54). See further, Sayce in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1927, on ‘ The Moscho Hittite Inscriptions,’ p. 701.

[2] Cf. pp. 172-4.

[3] 14 *K.U.B.* No. 15, p. 5, l. 20, etc.

Passing now around the south-west corner of the coast, and the valley of the INDUS, we reach LYCIA, the chief river of which is the XANTHUS and the eastern boundary the CESTRUS. In this case also there is hardly more than a theoretical link, based upon the apparent survival of Hittite names in the locality. Here the clue appears in the name *WIYANAWANDA*, clearly the Hittite form of the classical OENEANDA. This name, meaning wine-town in either tongue, is not uncommon; and indeed it has been identified by at least one student of these texts with the place of that name in eastern CILICIA, at the head of the gulf of Issos.[3] But a study of the exploits of King Mursil II., in which this name occurs, indicates that the territory lay south and west and in some relation to the sea coast. Identity with the Lycian site[4] is further supported by the association of other names which seem also to group themselves with Lycia, notably two district names *MIRA* and *KUWALIA* which seem to correspond respectively with the Lycian MIRA (surviving in the place-name MYRA upon the coast, and in the district name Milyas) and the district commonly grouped with it in early records called Cabalia. Two river names also occur, namely *Siyanta* and *Astarpa*, which seem to be reproduced with slight phonetical change in the modern forms of Eshenide and Isparta. There are thus found in association five Hittite names which seem to correspond individually and collectively with a familiar Lycian group. The result would not in any case be surprising. Legends of the Solymi[1] sound like an echo of the age of Mursil as recorded in the Hittite texts. Further, the art of early Lycia contains features strongly suggestive of that of Ḫatti, though clearly infused with newer and more lively elements in design. We may notice particularly the heraldic grouping of lions in pairs, and certain artistic details in the rendering of the sculptures. In architecture, also, there may be noted some masonry in the walls of Cadyanda, described by Fellows, who left a splendid record of the monuments of this area, as 'the Cyclopean walls of the city blended with Greek work evidently constructed at the same period.' Examination shows, however, that the Greek work is an addition by way of repair or extension to the original masonry, which is typically Hittite in all respects, and we figure a portion of the wall together with the specimen of the defensive work of the Hittite capital to illustrate the similarity.[2] This link is more suggestive in that the text to which we have referred speaks of the fortress of Dudḫalia as a landmark in the neighbourhood. We

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[1] The equations are all obvious and phonetically direct, except that of *MILLAWANDA* which, however, on the analogy of the name *YARUWANDAS* with its contemporary Hittite variant *YARUWATTAS*, mod. *Arwad*, may have become MILETOS (cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 24).

[2] *Quest. Gr.*, 45.

[3] Cf. Forrer, *Forschungen* (1926). *Die Arzawa Länder*; *Mira and Ḫaballa*, p. 68.

[4] Cf. also Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 196.

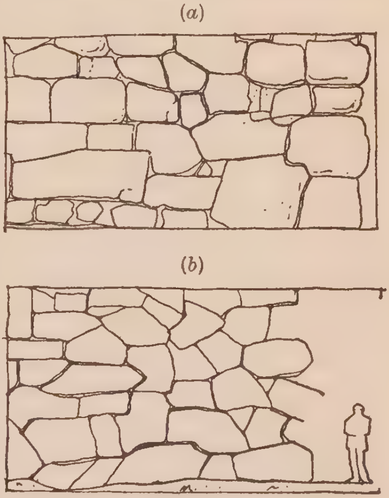
(a)
(b)

Fig. 13.—(a) Masonry of Ḫattusas.
(b) Walls of Cadyanda.

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[1] Herodotus (i. 88) and Strabo (xiv. iv. 10) both associate the Solymi with *Milyas*. An allusion in Homer (*Iliad*, vi. 186, 188) refers to Amazons in the same context.

[2] From Fellows' *Lycia*, p. 121. Cf. also the masonry at the Carian

quote a portion of this text,[1] not specially in support of these hypotheses, but to illustrate the fascination, and at the same time the perplexing character of these Hittite records, the full value of which can never be appreciated until the names have been finally identified :—

> 17. [To here ?] Till now, the town of Maddunasa, the fortress of Dudḫalia, was your boundary.
> 18. From there the shrine of the Illat-gods of Wiyanawanda be your boundary.
> 19. Now into the town Aura you shall not go over. From there onwards
> 20. the river Astarpa of the land of the town Kuwalia be your boundary. This land be yours.
> 21. Protect it. And from the river Astarpa and from the river Siyanta
> 22. not one of my towns you shall occupy.

We come now in conclusion to the coastland of CILICIA. This combines two different areas, namely CILICIA 'the Rugged' (Tracheia), which juts out towards the south, and the plains of CILICIA proper which lie between the slopes of Taurus and the sea as far as the range of AMANUS. Both districts seem to have been grouped together in antiquity, with the neighbouring territory, as the kingdom of *ARZAWA* to which we have frequently alluded.[2] The kings of *ARZAWA* were frequently in rebellion, and were possibly not of Hittite stock. Their territory seems to have extended at one time as far westward as LYCIA, and inland to include CABALLA, comprising several principalities which under King Mursil were separated and made direct fiefs of the central throne. We are inclined to think that the centre of this southern state was in CILICIA TRACHEIA, partly for the strategic reason that those who would possess the plains must also control the outlying mountains, and partly

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Karyanda, published by W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xiv. p. 376, figs. 2, 3. On the *Prehistoric Remains in S.W. Asia Minor*, cf. Ormerod, H. A., *An. B.S.A.*, 1911-13. Also *A Journey in S.W. Asia Minor*, with A. M. Woodward, *ibid.*, 1909-10.

[1] 4 *K.Bo.* 3, obv. i. ll. 17-22. The transcriptions and translations are the work of Dr. L. A. Mayer, Inspector in the Department of Antiquities of the Palestine Government, Jerusalem, and published in *J.E.A.*, xi. (1925), p. 29.

[2] See above, pp. 13, 63. For the sources and a summary of the argument, see *Index H.N.*, p. 7.

because of the small trace of surviving Hittite works in CILICIA proper. In any case, from the beginnings of classical history the hill country between the coastal plains of CILICIA and PAMPHYLIA, where Taurus pushes south towards the sea, has always had a political relation with the plains, and has been known by the same name though distinguished by the descriptive epithet TRACHEIA.[1] This relation is partly, but by no means fully, explained by the singular fact that this region of abrupt mountains and deep ravines provides the easiest pass through Taurus, that from LARANDA by Mut and down the valley of the CALYCADNUS river (the Geuk Su). Except for a short rise of some 500 feet this route is a continuous and gradual descent to SELEUCIA (Selefke), whence a road along the coast leads direct to TARSUS and ADANA, connecting in classical times the rich cities of south-west Asia Minor with the fertile fields of Cilicia and the East. In the other direction, westward, that is, from the mouth of the CALYCADNUS, the coastal route is continuous, connecting with Pamphylia and even as far as LYCIA and beyond. It seems possible that the mountains of *LAWASA*,[2] where King Mursil received an omen from the gods on the eve of battle, may prove to be found in the classical LAUZADUS, the Turkish Lavza of to-day. More historical is the survival in classical times at OLBA, which lies back in the high ground above the mouth of the CALYCADNUS River and ELAEUSSA, of the priestly dynasts, who long resisted Roman suzerainty. They ruled their territories as temple lands,[3] and their temple rites perpetuated the older Hittite customs, as at COMANA, PESSINUS, ZELA and elsewhere. Again, if ELAEUSA be correctly identified with *UILUSA* of the Hittite texts,[4] during the reign of Mutallis this island fortress was in possession of one Alaksandus, who had treaty relations with the Hittite king. This name, clearly the same as the Indo-European Alexander, occurs in the archives about the same time that Dardanian allies fought for King Mutallis at Kadesh. It will be remembered that the Trojan Paris was called Alexander. Accordingly it is of singular interest to find in one story of Paris and Helen a record of the fact that Paris on his return from Egypt and Sidon was hospitably entertained by the 'Assyrian' King Mutulos.[1] There may be nothing in these resemblances, but it is a further indication of the rich field of research that awaits the coming generation, in which the Hittite records will give up their meaning and many Greek traditions will be traced back to their source.

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[1] We must go back to the earliest records of all, of the time of Sargon, and of Akkad, to find trace of separation in name and regime between these two areas. Cf. *Index H.N.*, 'Adania.'

[2] *Index H.N.*, p. 32.

[3] According to Strabo (XIV. v. 10), the temple was dedicated to Jupiter and had been founded by Ajax, son of Teucer. Cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: Attis, Adonis, and Osiris*, i. pp. 163 ff.

[4] *Index H.N.*, p. 48.

Passing south-east from 'Rugged' CILICIA or from the plateau into the plains of CILICIA proper, we find the whole character of the country changed. The bracing dry uplands are left behind with their peculiar fascination and unrealised possibilities, and in their place appear the palm trees and fruit-gardens of a southern clime, and a population radically different in physical peculiarities and mode of life.

The green tract of CILICIA is indeed so shut in to the north by the Taurus ranges, and to the east by the AMANUS mountains, and so exposed to the sea on its southern border, that it seems as if nature had designed this unique corner of Asia Minor for a history of its own. Its remarkable fertility, however, and the important passes which lead down to it in several directions, make it impossible that it could have been overlooked by any power in possession of its frontiers. The plain of CILICIA is entirely alluvial soil, and is well called the fruit-garden of western Asia. Towards the east there are some hilly places, but to the north-east the plain stretches out again, following an inland bay of the mountains. The fertility of this favoured region seems to be wholly the gift of its numerous rivers. These, and in particular the SARUS (Seihun) and PYRAMUS (Jeihan), descending from the mountainous region above, wherein the nature of the stone is various and to a large extent volcanic, bring down with them the rich alluvium which is deposited in their sluggish course below. Some streams to the west have a swifter course, and of these the most important is the CYDNUS. In its upper reaches this river flows largely through steep ravines, and the most easterly tributary is that which has hewn out the pass of Gulek Boghaz, famous as the Cilician Gates, of which a more detailed description may not seem out of place.

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[1] Recorded by Stephanus Byzantinus; pointed out by Kretschmer in *Glotta* (xiii. pp. 205 ff.).

The route from the plateau may be divided into two main sections, the first reaching as far as Bozanti Han. In this portion, which may be regarded as the northern approach to the Cilician Gates, the scenery gradually attains all the beauties of a deep mountain-pass. The steep slopes of the valley are clad with the dense growth of pines, mixed freely with oak and cypress, and other trees of varying foliage. In places the bare rock protrudes and towers aloft precipitously, with sharp peaks reaching to the snow-line. Ever and again a more open glade, or the widening of the wooded valley where the river is joined by other waters, adds pleasing variety to the journey, and brings into greater prominence the boldness and beauty of the views. Nearing Bozanti the river enters a rocky and precipitous defile through which it rushes to the plain; avoiding this, the route crosses a low divide, and at this stage enters the basin of the CYDNUS. For a short way in this second section of the route the country is more open, but the enchantment of it is maintained in the wooded highland landscapes, with views of the dark green slopes of rugged Taurus and the snowy crest and crevices of Bulghar Dagh. But the winding road, when seemingly faced by an impenetrable ridge of mountain, enters suddenly a narrow gorge, the actual Gates, and so descends towards the Cilician plains. This historic route is the only pass available for traffic through the unbroken rock wall of Taurus. Peoples have passed through it that have formed nations; the armies of conquerors have traversed it in the struggle of continents; religions from the East have made it their channel of approach towards the unthinking West; Paul of TARSUS travelled through it bringing the Cross of Peace; and through it the Crusaders took back in due time the Cross of War. Makers of history—Persian, Greek, and Macedonian; Christian, Jew, and Moslem—all have passed this way. The finely engineered road, however, with its bridges and embankments, its rock-cuttings and eased gradients, is a work of modern times. At the opening of our story we must look back to the beginnings of the pass in a rough track alongside the rushing stream;[1] and it was not until Persian times that this road became a main thoroughfare towards the East. Previous to that, however, the route through the Cilician Gates must have been sufficiently arranged to enable a wheeled cart or chariot to pass that way.[2]

By contrast, the lower reach of the CYDNUS, past TARSUS to the sea, flows through open alluvium characteristically fertile. In earlier days, according to classical tradition, the river had been navigable as far as TARSUS, now more than twelve miles from the sea, but this outlet has silted up. It is also clear from the accounts of Strabo and others that it formerly emptied itself into the lake of RHEGMA, whereon was the port of TARSUS.[3] Hereabouts also would be ANCHIALE, a very ancient settlement, which some ancient writers describe as on the coast near a river of similar name, and others as a day's march from TARSUS. An ancient mound and site answering to this description have been indicated not far from modern Mersina.

The two greater rivers have been already mentioned, the classical SARUS and PYRAMUS. Both rise in the interior, in the highland area of CATAONIA, and in this sense may be said to link CILICIA with the plateau, though neither provides a real channel of communication through Taurus. Of the two it is the SARUS upon which stands ADANA, that forms the essential water supply of the great central plain. Its name in Arabic is Seihun, and Arab legends tell how both rivers changed their names after the classical names no longer had significance. The Seihun has two branches, of which the western, the Zamanti Su (CARMALAS Fl.) rises in the heart of the peninsula on the Tonus Dagh, the

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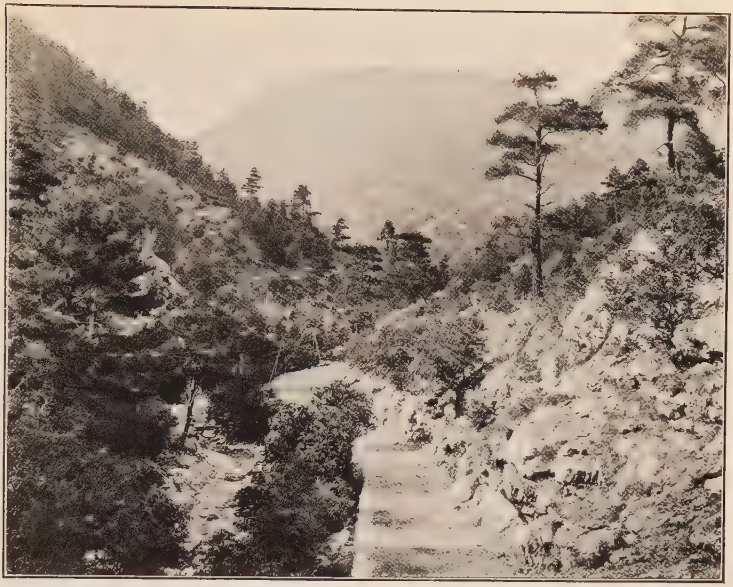
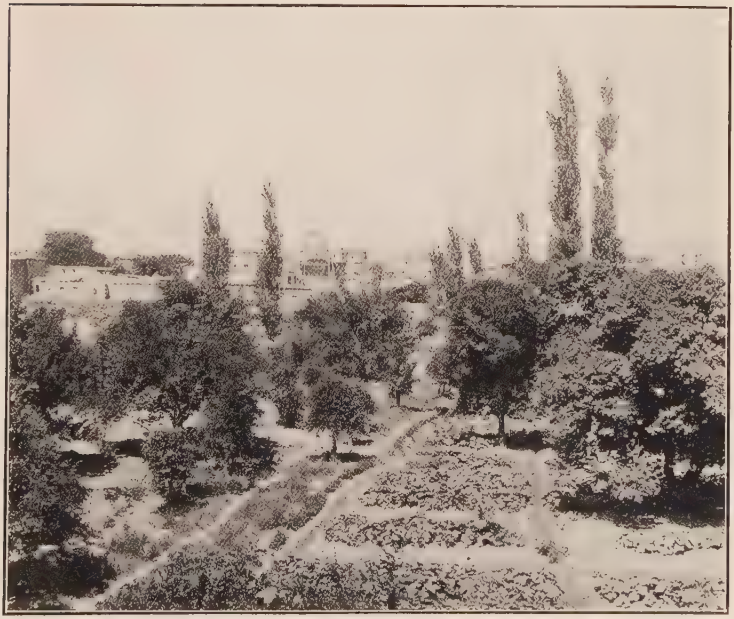
[1] It is stated, however, by Aucher-Eloy, *Relations de Voyages en Orient de* 1830 *à* 1838, i. p. 160, that a rock sculpture (of uncertain character) which he had seen in the Cilician Gates was destroyed in 1834.

[2] We may reasonably suspect that this dates from the revival of the Hittite state with TYANA as its centre in the tenth century B.C. (See above, pp. 13, 157 and Pl. VIII.) On this question see Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul* (London, 1907), pp. 114 ff., also *Pauline and other Studies* (London, 1906), ch. xi.; cf. also, for a description of the route, Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey* (London, 1879), ch. viii.

[3] The name *TARSA* appears, Professor Sayce points out, in a Hittite text (*K.U.B.*, xx. p. 26, ll. 21 ff.) associated with the cities *QUMANNA* (? KOMANA), *UNNEḪARA* (? Ass. *Ingira*), and *ADANIYA* (? ADANA). See also Pl. XXXVII.



GOING SOUTH THROUGH THE CILICIAN GATES.



TARSUS: THE GARDENS AND THE TOWN.

watershed of three different seas. In its course it flows past Azesha (which we suppose to be the Hittite Zazzisa) on the main road from MAZACA to the East. One small tributary comes from Ekrek and another from Mount ARGAEUS; and this branch, after a westerly detour, just before turning south, flows past the ancient Hittite rock sculptures of Fraktin which mark a fresh and abundant water supply at that point. At the foot of Taurus it joins the other branch which, though shorter, bears the name of the main stream. This comes from KOMANA past Feke, and at this point the road which has followed the river's course hereto crosses over the divide to Sis in the valley of the PYRAMUS. This river also in its turn straggles from afar, draining most of eastern CATAONIA and passing by several Hittite sites.[1] From near Marash it descends through a wonderful defile, a veritable cleft in the mountains, which separates the AMANUS range from TAURUS. After being joined by its chief tributary from Sis, it hugs the eastern foothills almost as far as the sea, giving life and fertility none the less to large areas in the eastern plain.

We have spoken already of the main approaches to CILICIA from the north and east; none others concern the Hittite frontier as a whole, and the local roads over the plain, though interesting from their monuments and history, have no special strategic features. It is improbable, both for physical and political reasons, that the chief military communications of the Hittite Empire in Asia, or the main trade route of the period, passed through CILICIA, as it may have done under the different conditions of Persian and Macedonian supremacy. The eastward pass of AMANUS by Bogche to Sakje-Geuzi is high and rocky,[2] and though possibly Assyrian raiders and even armies occasionally crossed that way, it is doubtful whether wheeled chariots could do so before Roman times. Xenophon's narrative shows that Cyrus avoided it on his eastward march. The route round the coast to Alexandretta and the Beilan Pass is more possible, and this was followed by Alexander the Great; but where it skirts the sea at the Gates of Syria it meets with rocky promontories, which have called for centuries of skilful engineering and bridge-building to overcome their formidable difficulties. The passage by sea across the bay would appear more practicable; but there is nothing to suggest that Hittite armies were wont to come this way. AMANUS formed the permanent barrier between the south-eastern province of Asia Minor and northern Syria. The main line of communication from *Ḫ̮ATTUSAS* was forced in consequence to the highland routes which issued from the plateau by the passes of Anti-Taurus and descended upon Syria from the North.

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[1] For these and the description of the monuments see the next chapter, p. 191 f.

[2] Cf. Pl. IX.

CHAPTER VIII

TAURUS AND ANTI-TAURUS

(*a*) Physical Features: Roads and Shrines

It was noticed, when tracing the boundaries of the plateau, that the mountain ranges of Anti-Taurus, Taurus,[1] and the watershed of the Euphrates, form and enclose a roughly triangular area, the northern apex of which is Tonus Dagh. This highland region lay between the land of Ḫatti and their rivals to the south and east, Egypt in Syria, Mitanni, and Ḫarri; and it was destined accordingly to claim from first to last a leading part in Hittite history. Within it lay possibly the earliest seat of the kings of *Kussar*;[2] exploration has disclosed a number of instructive Hittite monuments; classical writers tell of the remarkable survival of old-world cults and shrines that reflect clearly, in the light of present knowledge, their Hittite origin; and it was there that the old Hittite race and spirit resisted to the last.[3]

The organisation of the Ḫattic Empire required a defensible road system leading from the central plateau south-east; and three places claimed first place in the development of the strategic scheme: Kaisariyeh (Caesarea Mazaca) as the centre of communications, Malatia the doorway to the East, and Marash the key to Syria and the South. From Kaisariyeh to Malatia there are several alternative routes, but that which was used in Hittite times is well defined by the monuments along its track. After leaving Kaisariyeh it passed by Ekrek, and crossing the valley of the Zamanti Su led on to Azizieh, the altitude of which is 6000 feet. Thence, following up almost due eastward one of the smaller tributaries of the same river, it crossed the divide at a height of 6500 feet and gained the upper sources of the Tochma Su. Thence, following the valley of that stream, it descended by way of

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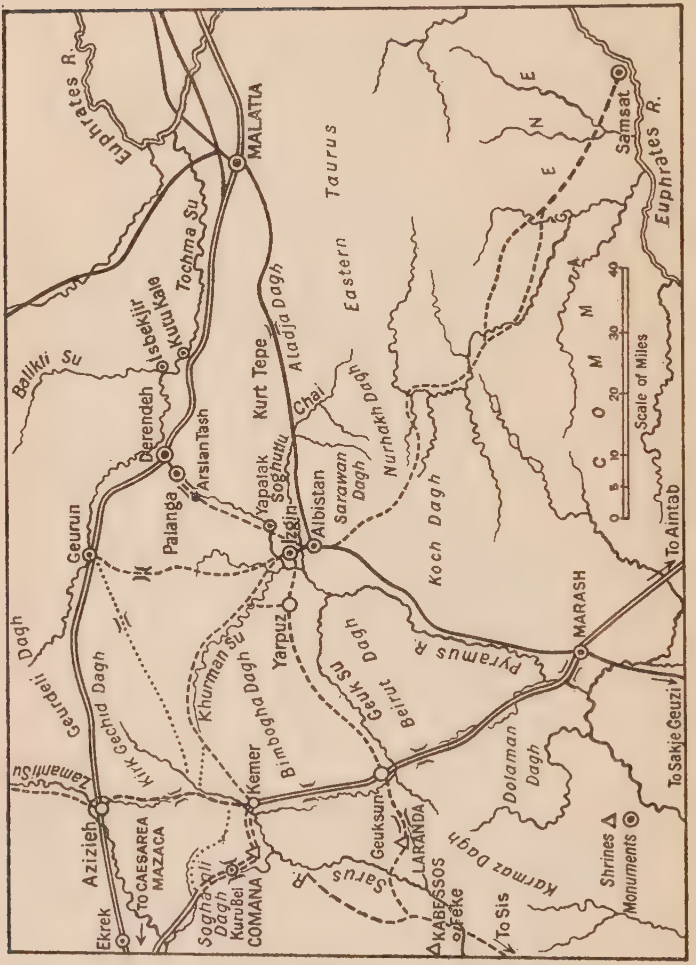
[1] Ch. iii., map, p. 54. [2] Cf. p. 1. [3] Cf. p. 12.


Euphrates R.
MALATIA
Tochma Su
Balkli Su
Isbekjir
Kutu Kale
Derendeh
Arslan Tash
Palanga
Geurun
Kurt Tepe
Aladja Dagh
Chai
Eastern Taurus
Yapalak
Soghutlu
Izgin
Albistan
Sarawan Dagh
Nurhakh Dagh
Koch Dagh
Geurdeli Dagh
Kirk Gechid Dagh
Khurman Su
Yarpuz
Bimbogha Dagh
Geuk Su Dagh
Beirut
Pyramus R.
MARASH
Zamanti Su
Azizieh
Kemer
Geuksun
LARANDA
TO CAESAREA MAZACA
Ekrek
Soghanli Dagh
KuruBel
COMANA
Sarus R.
KABESSOS or Eeke
To Sis
Karmaz Dagh
Dolaman Dagh
To Sakje Geuzi
To Aintab
Samsat
Euphrates R.
COMMAGENE
0 5 10 20 30 40
Scale of Miles
Shrines
Monuments

Taurus and Anti-Taurus: Hittite Sites and Communications.

Geurun and Derendeh[1] upon old Malatia. This route is direct; it is an avenue cut by nature through the rocky walls of the Hittite plateau. It marks the line of nature's high road between East and West,[2] in which the Hittite capital formed for many centuries a connecting link. It is only necessary to compare certain characteristic sculptures of the capital with those of Malatia on the one hand, and those of Giaour-Kalesi and Kara-Bel on the other, to realise that the sites of these monuments were linked together at one and the same time with the common centre.[3]

The south-easterly route towards Syria is not so easily followed. It will be remarked that the line of drainage lies generally south-west, so that though the tributaries of the Cilician rivers scour these hills in every direction, it is necessary by any route to traverse a number of intervening ridges in order to gain those valleys favourable for the descent. Thus a fairly direct line is indicated by the Hittite monuments of Kuru-Bel and by the survival of the old Hittite cult of the warrior Sun-goddess at COMANA (Shahr); but this presents no fewer than four high passes to be crossed in its course. Leaving the great East road before reaching Azesha, this route ascends the stream called Kuru Chai and climbs the pass of Kuru-Bel (6000 feet[4]), whence it descends nearly two thousand feet by Shahr to Kemer on the Geuk Su, one of the sources of the Seihun (SARUS). From Kemer there are two ways: the direct one turns south, and crossing the watershed beyond Geuksun, at a height of 5000 feet, descends by the valley of Kemer Su, a tributary of the Pyramus. At the approach to Marash there is a further climb of 5000 feet before descending to the town, which stands at 2250 feet above the sea. The alternative route from Kemer, used consistently by the Byzantine armies, follows the long detour of the Khurman Su around the northern foot of the Bimbogha Dagh (9000 feet) by Tanir (TANADARIS) and Yarpuz (ARABISSOS), with the advantage of a more gradual and uniform descent by the main stream of the PYRAMUS.

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[1] Possibly the Hittite *Durmitta* (cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 13).

[2] We agree with Anderson (*Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xvii. (1897), p. 41) whose general argument that the royal road followed this route is convincing, notwithstanding what may be said in support of the line by Samsat, put forward by the late Mr. Hogarth (see Macan's *Herodotus*, ii. pp. 299 ff.). On the position of Boghaz-Keui in the matter, see also Ramsay, *H.G.*, pp. 29 ff.

[3] Compare for example the warriors or the Warrior-god of Malatia (fig. 17) with the Warrior-gods of Iasily Kaya (Pl. XXIV.), of Giaour-Kalesi (fig. 9), and of Kara-Bel. A further link between Malatia and the capital is seen in the winged deity which is identical in the sculptures of both places (Pl. XXXVIII., top, and Pl. XXIV., No. 5 L.).

[4] Through the Soghanlu Dagh, 8500 ft.

These two roads radiating from Kaisariyeh on Malatia and on Marash formed clearly the main arms of the Hittite system, and as their use in Hittite times is attested, it is unnecessary to complicate the question by discussing the numerous alternatives. Nearly every ravine and valley of this broken country provides a track, whether on one of its steep sides or in the river bed; and there are many mountain passes from one valley to another available in summer weather. The records of the First Crusade show that no defile was too steep or narrow for determined foot soldiers to pass, while the Byzantine Emperor Basil hewed his way to Marash through pathless forests over the roughest areas of Taurus.[1] These illustrations do not diminish the importance of the two main arteries, but they show how vital was the possession and organisation of all this mountain zone.

Particularly noteworthy, from the military standpoint, are the several cross-links between the main roads to Malatia and Marash. Two of these branch south at Ekrek and Azizieh respectively; while a third, more used but apparently of Roman origin, takes this direction earlier at Zerezek. The two latter follow up the Kuru Chai, descending by a pass not less severe, but engineered in Roman times, to Kemer, thus missing Shahr. The route south from Azizieh follows the ridge of mountain, as does its northerly continuation by Tonus to Sivas, thus forming a second lateral line of communication, in advance of and almost parallel to that of Kaisarieh-Sivas.

In addition to these short links between the roads, the cities of Malatia and Marash are themselves connected by a route which passes by Albistan.[2] Hittite monuments attest the antiquity of this place, which formed, in fact, the route-centre of this mountain zone.[1] From it radiated no fewer than five tracks, linking the various Hittite sites together. The first of these goes down by the Pyramus to Marash, being joined below Yarpuz by that which we have traced from Shahr and Kemer by the valley of the Khurman Su. The second and third cross the northern watershed into the valley of the Tochma Su, heading respectively for Geurun and Derendeh. The fourth is that which makes eastward for Malatia, ascending the valley of the Soghutlu Chai and over the watershed by Kurt Tepe, keeping all the while to the northern slopes of Taurus. The fifth leads south-east, rising above 6000 feet in its course around the western and southern slopes of the Nurhakh Dagh (10,000 feet), after which it descends by relatively easy stages to Samsat[2] upon the Euphrates.

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[1] See particularly W. J. G. Anderson's study of the road systems of this area in *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xvii. (1897), pp. 22 ff.

[2] 3650 ft. above the sea-level. There are copper mines in the immediate neighbourhood, especially in the Sarawan Dagh to the South, which may thus prove to be the Mt. *SUWARAS* of the Hittite texts (*Index*

With this region we group that of eastern Taurus, extending as far as the bend of the Euphrates between Samsat and Malatia, not that we are able to add anything to the indications in classical and more recent writings, but because it is increasingly to be anticipated that there will ultimately be found here important traces of the Hittite military organisation, if not indeed the site of *Kussar*. At present it is only along the Euphrates, at Samsat, and more doubtfully at Gerger, that Hittite monuments are on record. But the mountain zone is relatively unexplored; there are numerous ruins within the area, and the classical authorities, reflected in the maps of Commagene, indicate considerable organisation and activity in Roman times. Samsat (Samosata) seems to be the *Samuḫa* of the Hittite records;[3] and a little lower, around the bend of the Euphrates, was Urima, which seems to correspond in name and position to *Ḫurma* of the lists

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H.N., p. 43). The Hittite name of Albistan is not apparent; as a route centre it cannot fail presently to be recognised (cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 14, note Gasga).

[1] Ramsay (*H.G.*, p. 311) indicates a shift of the road centre under Roman organisation to Arabissos, but nature's routes radiate from Albistan.

[2] 1500 ft.

[3] *Index H.N.*, p. 40. So also Sayce, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, April 1928, p. 260. On the disappearing Ḫ or Kh see Friedrich, *Z.D.M.G.*, N.F., i, p. 159.

of Hittite *hiera*.[1] Just to the west, on the route from Marash to Carchemish, lay DOLICHE, where the old cult of the Hittite Sky-god and his consort survived into the Christian epoch.[2]

The sanctuaries most often mentioned in the Hittite lists, however, lay apparently to the west of our region in CATAONIA. It is a mistake to think of CATAONIA or any portion of this region as a plain, an error freely quoted from one of the classical authors: it is, on the other hand, high and mostly rugged, though its valleys are inhabited and in places surprisingly fertile. It is divided by the two main streams of the Cilician SARUS, the far-reaching river which drains and at the same time links together all these highlands. Its main arm descends by Kemer and Shahr, and a route which follows the basin as far as Feke, there leaves the precipitous bed of the river and crosses over to Sis,[3] in the north-east corner of the Cilician plain. An alternative route from Kemer descends as before to Geuksun (COCUSUS) whence, by way of LARANDA, it regains the main valley at Feke near which in turn was the probable site of CABISSOS.[4] A longer arm of the SARUS, the Zamanti Su, rises further north in the main watershed of the Three Seas on Tonus Dagh, and descends thence by Azesha and Fraktin. It is accompanied by a route as far as the latter place, which is distinguished by its Hittite rock carvings. CATAONIA thus comprised a central and strategic mountain zone, commanding both the passes to the south-east and the routes into CILICIA, as well as numerous sources of the two rivers.[5] In view of the importance of this situation, and of the sanctity accorded to mountains and rivers in Hittite mythology, it is not surprising to find several of the important centres of CATAONIA marked by ancient shrines. Three of these, the location of which is indicated in a general way, were *Ḫubisna*, *Dunna* and *Laanda*. They occur in lists of cities invoked in Hittite treaties in the following sequences :—

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[1] *Index H.N.*, p. 23. Cf. also Sayce, *loc. cit.*

[2] This remarkable survival is described below, p. 301 f. and fig. 41.

[3] Important iron mines are accessible by this route. They are found before reaching Sis in the southern foot of the Bel Dagh above Saris, about lat. 38°, by the side of the Geuk Su.

[4] So Ramsay (*H.G.*, p. 330), but Anderson places it somewhat higher up the river, on a small tributary below COMANA (Murray's Map of Asia Minor). Geuksun is another claimant for this undetermined site.

[5] It is tempting to locate *KIZZUWADNA*, the allied Hittite state that became prominent in the age of Mursil II. and Hattusil III., wholly or partly in CATAONIA, alike from the phonetic equivalence of the names as for other historical and topographical considerations. It is difficult, however, to reconcile this theory with the fact that the boundary of *KIZZUWADNA* touched the sea; and indeed an equally plausible case can be urged for its location in PONTUS. (Cf. *J.E.A.*, x. 104 ff.; xi. 32 ff., etc.) On this question we must await more direct evidence.

Text of Telibinus : *Ḫubisna*, *Tuwanuwa*, *Nenassa*, *Laanda*.
Treaty w. Mitanni : *Dunna*, *Ḫubisna*, *Laanda*.
Treaty w. Nuḫassi : *Dunna*, *Ḫubisna*, *Isḫupitta*, *Laanda*.

The frequent association of these names constitutes them a group, and reference to Ptolemy's list of the Strategiai of CATAONIA :

CABISSOS, TYNNA . . . CYBISTRA . . . COMANA . . . LEANDIS

can leave little doubt as to their original identity. There is considerable doubt, however, as to the location of the three shrines in question. LEANDIS is usually identified with LARANDA of the Antonine itinerary.[1] TYNNA is quite unknown. CABISSOS is stated by one authority to have been a village on the road from TARSUS to CAESAREA MAZACA[2] and also to have been a bishopric in CILICIA.[3] Of the other sites mentioned in Ptolemy's list, COMANA, which seems to have been the most famous of the Cataonian hiera, has no obvious counterpart in the Hittite lists in which the name *Arinna* always claims first place. The site, at Shahr,[4] marks the foot of the important pass of Kuru-Bel, and the heights of the pass are marked by a Hittite altar. Though no Hittite monuments have been observed among the ruins of COMANA itself, yet in the Roman epoch the image of Ma-Bellona, illustrated upon the coins of the site, seems to be indistinguishable in attributes from the all-powerful Sun-goddess of *Arinna* in Hittite times. A wonderful light will dawn upon this and other local problems with the excavation of the site itself. It seems indeed highly probable, alike from the association of the names (that of *Arinna* with the other Hittite shrines of the locality, and that of Comana with the same sites in Roman times), as from the first importance attributed to each in its day, and the obvious identity of the cults, that *Arinna* and Comana indicate the same place, being the Hittite and Classical names of the chief sanctuary of this area.[1]

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[1] 'Eighteen miles from KOKUSSUS on the road to ANAZARBUS'; actually fifteen miles, at Kara Kilisa.

[2] By Stephanus Byzantinus, quoting Apion : for this reason located by Kiepert in the Cilician gates, but more probably on the road *via* Sis. Cf. Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 311.

[3] Notitia, i. Cf. Ramsay, *H.G.*, p. 386.

[4] Strabo, XI. xii. 2, XII. ii. 3, XII. iii. 32, etc. Cf. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadocie*, pp. 133-43.

In one of the lists of hiera quoted, there appears the name *Isḫupitta*, which we know from other texts[2] to have been located among the confederate cities of *Gasga*. The district occupied by these tribes or peoples can be located with some degree of certainty in Armenia Minor, north of the Tochma Su, and there is on this point general agreement among students of Hittite geography. No Hittite monuments have been recorded in this area, and indeed it was apparently peopled by a non-Hittite stock, akin rather to its eastern neighbours of *Ḫarri* beyond the Euphrates, with which it was frequently associated in rebellion against the Ḫattic rulers. Though geographically outside the scope of this chapter, it looms upon the eastern horizon of Ḫatti as a political factor, and claims a place in our considerations.[3] A detailed examination of the texts of Subbiluliuma, Mursil II. and Hattusil III. discloses *Gasga* as being (*a*) the buffer state between *Ḫatti* and *Ḫarri*; (*b*) situated in a mountainous vicinity; (*c*) between the Halys and the Euphrates; (*d*) on the borders of or near to *Kizzuwadna*, etc. Amongst the numerous sites mentioned in or near to *Gasga* are:—

Isḫupitta, *Ḫumissenas*, *Ḫimasmas*, and *Zimurria*

which we identify respectively with

Euspoena, Komisene, Kamisa, and Zimara.

In two cases, namely Kamisa (modern Kemis) and Zimara (modern Zimarra), both classical and Hittite names seem to have survived almost without change. The area indicated by these names is the northern portion of Armenia Minor; and the district of Gasga proper, on full consideration of the evidence, seems to lie westward of the Euphrates between Zimarra and Malatia, bounded nominally to the south by Tochma Su and to the north by the Kangal Su, but ever and again found extending its confines northwards, westwards and southwards. The town *Zazzisa*, which marks the limit of the inroads of rebels in the time of Subbiluliuma's father, seems appropriately to place itself at Azizieh in the pass of Anti-Taurus between Kaisariyeh and Malatia. This name in its present form, as Professor Ramsay has pointed out to us in a private letter, is probably quite modern; but it remains possible that it merely conventionalises an older name of similar sound. In several other cases we have found that radical elements of really old names implant themselves in various ways in their neighbourhood. Thus in support of our view, slightly to the west, upon the same road, the form appears as Azesha, while the mountain which rises above the modern village is called by the same name. In the vicinity are several tumuli and ruined buildings, and the antiquity of the site and route, generally speaking, is not in doubt.

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[1] For the fuller argument, *Liv. A.A.*, vi. No. 3 (1914), pp. 109 ff., with figs. 1-3.

[2] *Index H.N.*, p. 25. We identify Isḫupitta phonetically and geographically with Euspoena. Cf. Friedrich in *Z.D.M.G.*, N.F., i. p. 159, etc.

[3] For a fuller account with sources cf. *Index H.N.*, p. 14; also notes in *J.E.A.*, xi. (1925), p. 31, and in *Liv. A.A.*, x. p. 177.

However that may be, the land of *Gasga*, though bordering on the land of Ḫatti to the east, was, as we have observed, politically hostile to the Ḫattic rule, and the absence of Hittite monuments may indicate a radical difference in its people's stock. With these considerations we turn to consider the nature of the Hittite monuments of the region we have been discussing, commencing with those on the borderland, in the valley of the Tochma Su, which mark the oldest historical line of ancient road between the East and West.

(*b*) Hittite Monuments

MALATIA, QOTU-QALE, ISBEKJIR; DERENDEH, PALANGA, ARSLAN-TASH, ALBISTAN, IZGÎN; GEURUN, EKREK; TASHJI, FRAKTIN; ASARJIK, TEKIR-DEVRENT, EGRI KEUI; KARA-EYUK; KURU-BEL; MARASH; SAMSAT, GERGER.

In our description of the monuments of this region, we begin for convenience at Malatia, and follow up thence the valley of the Tochma Su, in the direction of Kaisariyeh. At

Derendeh we make a détour by the route already indicated over the watershed southwards to Albistan; and similarly from Ekrek we follow the course of the Zamanti Su as far as Fraktin. Returning from Kaisariyeh *via* Kuru-Bel we then descend upon Marash, concluding with Samsat and Gerger upon the Euphrates.

The mound which marks the old-time acropolis of Malatia is probably that now called Arslan Tepe, near the village of Ordasu, about two or three miles north-eastward from the modern town. The attention of scholars was called to this spot by the visit of Mr. Hogarth's expedition in 1894. The explorer describes the mound as fifty feet in height, of irregular shape, longest from north to south, like the accumulation above a building, but without any visible masonry upon it.[1] West of it rise two smaller mounds, and southwards one. The Euphrates is distant about two hours' ride. The known Hittite monuments of the site (which would richly reward excavation) consist of a number of sculptured stones, which apparently form two distinct series, the decorations at different epochs of a palace temple. The one series consists of facing slabs, three in number, while the other includes a group of solid building blocks of uncertain number, but not less than six.[2] The carving in all cases is in high relief. The most perfect slab[3] is just under four feet in length, with a height of two feet, and thickness one foot. Along the top is an incomplete row of hieroglyphs in relief,[4] reading from the left. Below is the main theme of decoration, representing a lion hunt, carved in strong relief. The picture is composed of a horse chariot with two riders, a dog below the horse, and a wounded lion in front. Several hieroglyphic signs are found above the horse's back, and also between his head and that of the lion; but as these signs read now from right to left, it may be concluded that they continue the inscription above.

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[1] *Recueil de Travaux*, xvii. p. 26.

[2] Members of the Chicago Expedition of 1928 have added considerably to the list of these sculptures, of which we are enabled by their courtesy to give a brief account on p. 208.

[3] Constantinople Museum, No. 846. Hogarth, *loc. cit.*, with Plate, fig. 3; Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands* (Philadelphia, 1897), fig. 159; Messerschmidt, *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XVI. A, and text, p. 13.

[4] Discussed by Sayce, *S.B.A.* (Nov., 1905), p. 212. Hand copy, Hogarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 25.

The sculpture is formal and lacking in vitality, but several details may be noticed. The picture is drawn in profile with the usual conventions. The chariot is small: the charioteer and the warrior stand within, side by side, the latter occupying the front place. Both men are clad in short tunics with waist-belts, and both wear close-fitting skull-caps, and the hair of the warrior curls in characteristic fashion behind the neck. His weapons are the bow and the spear. The bow is short and curved, and the arrow is strongly barbed; two quivers are depicted crossways upon the side panel of the chariot. The spear is shown point upward, ready at hand in the back of the chariot. The driver holds two pairs of reins, from which it may be inferred that two horses are being driven, though being side by side the outline of only one is visible. The shoulder muscles of the horse are outlined conventionally, and it is noticeable that his mane is tightly bound and ends in a curl. The trappings are not distinguishable. The figure of the dog is seen between the horse's front and back legs; it is crude and uninteresting. The pose of the lion is unconventional. He is represented as half rampant, turning round his head with open mouth towards his tormentors, and clawing the air with the pain of his wound; for the shaft of an arrow is seen below the shoulders. The tail is short and thin, and curls upwards; that of the horse is long, and falls so as almost to touch the ground. The mane of the lion is represented fully by short curls; but the belly and shoulders are hairless.[1] The claws are exaggerated; the nose is out of drawing, and the sculpture in general is poor in execution.

The second block [2] is smaller, but broken into two pieces; it seems to lack also the upper band of inscription. On the right hand it is clearly defective, showing towards that side the back part of a chariot, with six-spoked wheels, quivers, spear, and bowman, exactly as in the previous instance. The more perfect scene, though broken through the middle, shows two figures seated at a ceremonial feast of the kind previously described.[3] Though both persons are seated, they are not represented exactly alike. That on the left seems to be a male; he is distinguished by a close round skull-cap with upturned peak or ornament upon the brow. His long, straight nose is very prominent. His hair turns backward in a single full curl behind the neck. His robe is long, and fringed around the bottom. The toes of his shoes are prominently upturned, and his feet rest on a square-framed stool. The chair on which he sits has curving legs, forming a figure-of-eight cross, and ending in a small outward curve, similar to those supporting the table in other sculptures. The back of the chair is high and turns outwards. In his right hand the man holds a crooked staff reversed, and in his left he holds a small cup. The objects on the table cannot well be identified, owing to the rubbing of the stone; but the table itself may be seen to be supported by two straight legs which cross one another. The figure on the right of the table, which faces towards the other, is less clearly seen upon the stone, but sufficient may be made out to show that it differs considerably in some details. The head-dress is a hat which is not close-fitting, but rises squarely in front. From behind, a long veil or shawl seems to descend to the waist, below which it can no longer be traced; both the face and clothing suggest that this figure represents a woman. She is seated, as in the other cases of women, on a square-framed seat with spindle, the back of which must have been low; and her feet rested possibly, but not clearly, upon a footstool. A few hieroglyphic signs between the heads of the figures, and a longer row over all, complete the whole. Though not well preserved and poorly carved, the general theme of these sculptures is not without special interest. The right-hand portion with the chariot and archer is of the same nature as the lion-hunt seen on the stone previously described, and possibly formed part of the same scheme. The left side, with its two seated figures, belongs to the class of ceremonial feast of which we have already described various examples. The association of this theme with others of entirely different import has a parallel in the wall sculptures of Sinjerli, where, however, the different subjects are not found on the same stone as in this instance. Here also the persons represented seem to be man and woman. Neither serves the other; both seem to share equally in the rite. In them we are inclined to see the local king and queen, even though no special attributes denote their rank. The chieftain and his consort feasting would constitute a sufficient motive in Oriental art; but if the subject has primarily a religious significance, as is more probable, we must see them in their capacity of chief priest and priestess, an association for which the sculptures of Eyuk provide us with sufficient analogy.[1]

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[1] Cf. the sculptures, Pls. XLVI., XLVIII., and LIII.

[2] Constantinople Museum, No. 847. *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XVI. B; Hogarth, *Recueil*, xvii. p. 25.

[3] Cf. fig. 10 and Pl. XLIV. and p. 107.

A third sculpture from Malatia[2] is of smaller size, measuring only thirty-two inches in length and eighteen in height. It is, however, in good condition, and though the edges are broken, the scene depicted upon it is complete in itself. The carving is in relief. As in previous cases a line of inscription[3] runs along the top from left to right. The subject bears a general resemblance to that on the stone first described, except that a fleeing stag takes the place of the wounded lion. Otherwise the horse, chariot, bowman and driver, even the dog below the horse's feet, are reproduced almost in facsimile. Only in this case the better preservation of the stone enables us to trace

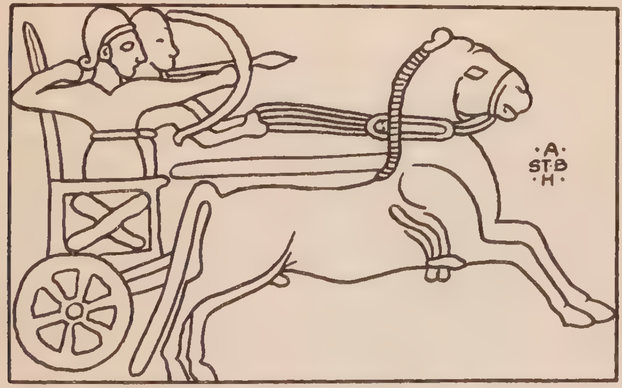

Fig. 14.—Malatia. Hunting from the Chariot.

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[1] Cf. Pls. xxviii., xxx.; on this question in general, see pp. 148-9.

[2] In the Louvre Museum, Paris. Published by Heuzy, *Les Origines orientales de L'Art*, pt. i. (Paris, 1892), Pl. x. Messerschmidt, *C.I.H.* (1906), Pl. xlvii. and p. 7.

[3] Published and discussed by Sayce, *Proc. S.B.A.*, xxvi. (Jan. 1904), p. 13, with drawing.

some details more clearly, while the drawing and carving are executed with greater skill and care. The short sleeves of the men's dress are distinguishable; the two quivers suspended crosswise on the side panel of the chariot seem almost like stout diagonal supports to an open framework. As in the former case only one horse is represented, but the trappings are clearly designed for two, and there is a raised band above his back which may be taken for the outline of the further horse, or possibly the pole of the chariot. The horse is entire. The muscles of the shoulder and thigh on all the animals are outlined with deliberation, and behind the horse's shoulder are certain further markings, intended probably to represent the ribs or muscles more fully, recalling the similar convention seen on certain sculptures of Eyuk[1] and of Sakje-Geuzi.[2] The stag is represented with branching horns; and his head is well drawn. He is in full flight before his pursuers, his hind legs being shown in the picture as overlapping the forelegs of the horse.

We come now to the series of sculptured blocks from Malatia, which are at least six in number.[3] These are fairly uniform in size and shape, measuring about a yard (80 cms.) in length and half that height. Dowel-holes confirm the impression that they formed part of a structure. It is unfortunate that little is known about the circumstances of their discovery, except that they came from Arslan Tepe, for the subjects carved upon them are of exceptional interest. In the first of the series a deity, wearing a conical head-dress decorated with rings,[4] stands upon the back of a bull,[5] the horns of which are wreathed with garlands.[6] His left leg is forward (as he faces to the

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[1] Cf. Pl. XXXI. and p. 140.

[2] Pl. XLVIII. and p. 268.

[3] For the new series of photographs (Pl. XXXVIII.), from which also our drawings are made (figs. 15, 16, 17), we are indebted to the courtesy of Halil Bey, Director of the Museum of Antiquities in Constantinople. See also *Liv. A.A.*, i. (1908), Pls. IV., V.; and *ibid.* (1909), Pl. XLI.

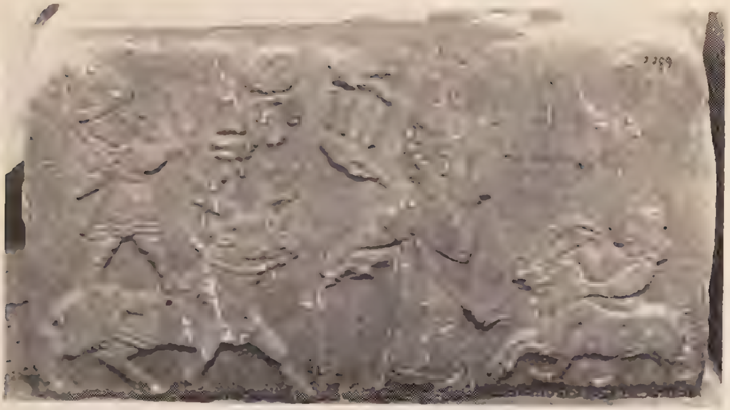
[4] Cf. the head-dress of the god at Boghaz-Keui, Pls. XXII., XXIV.

[5] The Syrian Hadad is sometimes represented standing on the back of a bull which he guides with a cord. Cf. also the statement of Lucian (*De Dea Syria*, 31) that 'Zeus,' the chief god of HIERAPOLIS, which replaced Carchemish, was supported on a bull. The same deity was called Hadad by Macrobius. On the bull in Hittite symbolism, see p. 134.

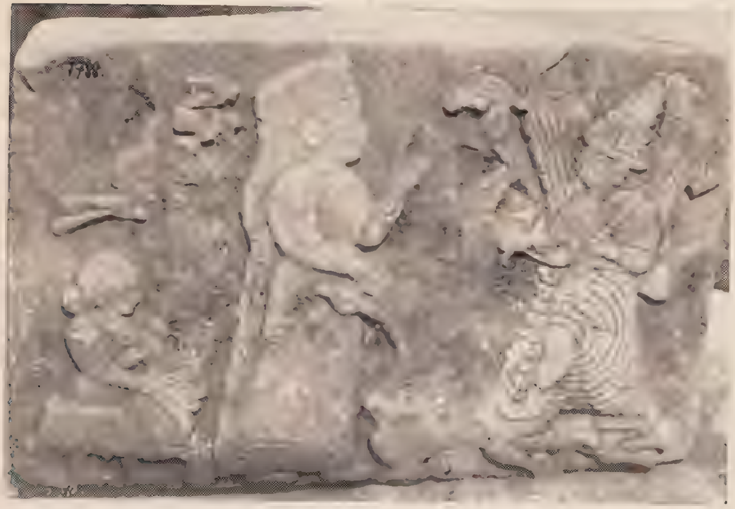
[6] Garlanded bulls, we are informed, are a familiar sight in the streets of Benares at festivals of Siva; and it is from Indian mythology that we

To face p. 202.

PLATE XXXVIII



(*a*) LIBATION TO A DEITY STANDING UPON A GARLANDED BULL.
See p. 202.



(*b*) LIBATION TO A WINGED DEITY ON A THUNDERBOLT.
See p. 203, *and cf. No.* 5 *L. on Pl. XXIV.*

MALATIA: SCULPTURED BUILDING BLOCKS.

right), and on his feet are tip-tilted shoes. In his right hand, which is drawn back, there is a triangular bow,[1] and in his outstretched left hand he holds up a forked emblem, like the lightning trident,[2] and grasps at the same time a cord which is attached to the nose of the bull. His dress is a short bordered tunic. Facing him is a long-robed personage, in whom we recognise the priest-king, distinguished by his close-fitting cap and the characteristic large curl of hair behind the neck. In his left hand he holds a reversed lituus; his right is partly extended, pouring out a libation which falls in a wavy stream. He is followed by a small person who leads up (with some difficulty it would seem) a goat clearly destined for sacrificial offering. Some hieroglyphs complete the picture. It is instructive to compare the whole theme with that which decorated the left hand of the façade to the palace at Eyuk,[3] especially as the blocks of stone seem to be in this instance also cubical building stones.

The second sculpture of this series shows a different deity, evidently a Sky-god winged, and standing upon a thunderbolt, but wearing the same conical hat with rings and upturning peak. The dress is curious; the lower part seems like a many-pleated continuous flowing garment which winds around the body and one leg, and passes behind the other leg. The two hands are held near the body, and in the left is grasped some object which is obscured, but may be seen to have reached to the left shoulder. The exact counterpart is to be seen among the sculptures of the sanctuary at Boghaz-Keui.[4] The deity is approached by the queen-priestess, who is recognised by the low cylindrical hat and the long cloak or veil descending therefrom behind the shoulders to the ground. Her left

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get our nearest insight into the character of these deities and the meaning of these sculptures. For the bull represents Siva, whose emblems are a trident and also an axe. Blood sacrifice, whether of goat or buffalo, is reserved for the companion goddess Kali, the author and finisher of life. Cf. also Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, 301; and Frazer, *The Golden Bough: Attis, etc.*, i. 65.

[1] Cf. sculpture of Kara-Bel, fig. 12, also p. 177.

[2] For this object, cf. a sculpture of Sinjerli, Pl. XLIV., and for a formal representation, the leading god at Boghaz-Keui, Pl. XXIV.

[3] Pl. XXIX.

[4] Cf. the winged deity of Boghaz-Keui (Iasily Kaya), No. 5 L., p. 99.

hand is raised as in reverence, and her right, extended but low, holds a narrow jug, with side handle and long neck, from which she is clearly pouring a libation into a two-handled vase placed on the ground before the feet of the god.[1] Behind her there follows a small attendant leading an animal which may be presumed to be a goat, as in the previous case. The few hieroglyphs accompanying these figures are illegible.

In the two sculptures last described we seem to have a pair, for the composition of the scenes is similar, and they face in opposite directions. The first at any rate is a corner-stone, for a moving lion [2] is carved upon its left-hand side; and the pair presumably mark the entrance to a building like those which flank the approach to the palace entrance at Eyuk,[3] with which they may be helpfully compared. There on the left hand is the image of the Bull-god, and on the right that of the Mother-goddess; both deities are enshrined, representing the mated pair of

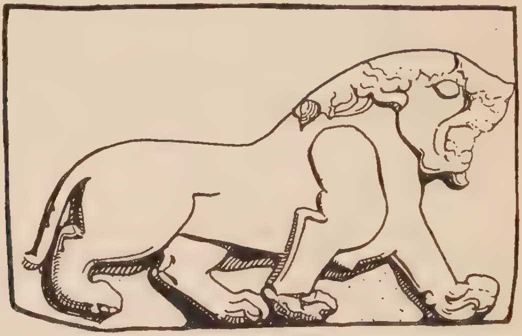

Fig. 15.—Malatia. Lion Relief on Corner Block.

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[1] For the types of vases cf. the Syrian tribute in Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 263; and especially the Hittite tribute, *temp.* Akhenaten, published by Davies, *El Amarna II.*, Pl. XL., and p. 41; cf. also the oblation scenes of Eyuk (*k*, p. 143), and of Fraktin, Pl. XLI. The pouring vase in this scene is of exactly the same type (with rising spout or lip) as the vessels actually found by Hrozný at Kara Eyuk (*KANES*): *Syria*, viii. (1927), Pl. IV. No. 3; and comparable with others found at *QATNA* by Pézard: *Syria*, viii. Pl. VIII. Cf. Dussaud, *La Céramique du 2^{me} millenaire*, *Syria*, ix. pp. 136 ff.

[2] Fig. 15. Cf. Pl. LIII.

[3] Described in ch. v. above, pp. 134, 138, with fig. 8 and Pl. XXX.

established Hittite divinities, whose emblems were the bull and the lion respectively. Here the god himself is shown upon the bull, and the goddess—if such it be—assumes the aspect of a goddess of the skies, or Queen of Heaven, a familiar attribute of Astarte; and as such she is included in the Hittite pantheon in the sculptures of the capital. We have then a pair of recognised Hittite divinities, male and female, as the central objects of the local cult. But that which arrests our attention, and may throw light upon the broader question of Hittite origins, is the obvious parallelism with the symbolism and ritual of the Indian god Siva, a result for which, however surprising, we are prepared by the inclusion of Mitra, Varuna, and Indra among the deities of Mitanni.[1]

Still a third block of this series is decorated with a libation scene. In this case the priest-king appears again, clad as just described, in his long priestly robes, to which, however, there is a fringe. He faces to the right, and his left hand is raised, holding up some object which is not clear but is possibly a cup. With his right he pours out

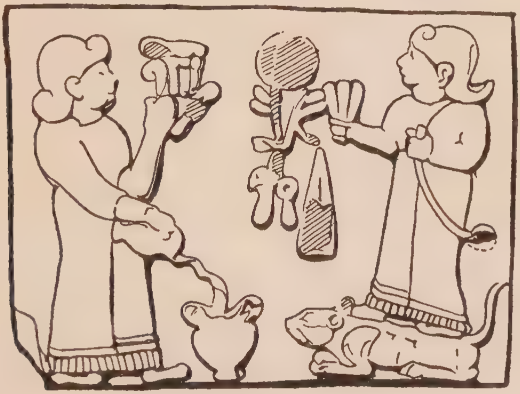

Fig. 16.

Malatia. Libation Scene on Building Block.

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[1] Treaty between Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza of Mitanni (*K.Bo.*, No. 3), translated by Weidner, *Pol. Dok.*, i. p. 33. The significance of this fact was indicated by the discoverer, Dr. Winckler, at the time, *M.D.O.G.*, 1907, No. 35, p. 51.

a libation into a vessel, both vases being the same as on the second block. The object of adoration is more strange; it is a human figure clad like the priest, standing on an animal which is possibly intended for a lion, but may equally represent a panther or tiger, for there is no mane.[1] In his right hand he holds the lightning trident of the god, and in his left the curved staff usually denoting the priest-king himself. A group of hieroglyphs in the field complete the picture.

The fourth block of the series is much longer, and it is decorated with a unique scene, in which two armed warriors are advancing to the attack of a great serpent. Both figures face to the right, and in obedience to convention, their faces and bodies are in profile, the shoulders in full view, while the left foot and left arm are advanced. The warriors are clad in the characteristic short bordered tunic reaching to the knees, a conical helmet with rings between the ribs, and shoes with turned-up toes. Each carries a sword with curving scabbard at his belt. The second figure may be seen clearly to be bearded; his nose is mongoloid rather than aquiline or semitic, and he wears a conspicuous curling pigtail. In his advanced left hand he holds in a vertical position a long spear (or similar object), the shaft of which rests on the ground. In his right hand, which is held to his side, he clasps the handle of a mace, the head

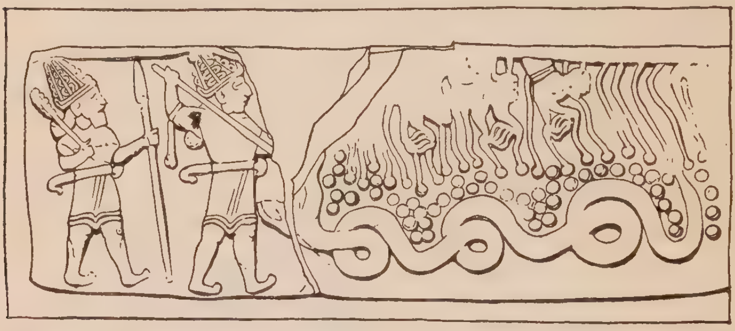

Fig. 17.—Teshub aids Inaras in Repelling the Great Serpent.

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[1] The tiger is sometimes associated in art with Siva, who is seen standing upon its back. The pose is similar to that on a sculpture from near Marash (below, p. 308, fig. 45).

of which is made up of a ringlike device similar to that seen in the helmets. The male figure in front seems to wear a shorter beard or chinstrap.[1] He grasps with both hands a spear, from which a tassel seems to hang behind the uplifted right elbow. With the spear he is apparently attacking or repelling a writhing serpent, which advances with wide-open mouth, and is represented with decorative realism. A number of nodules seem to indicate the earth, but the further detail, which is too complicated to describe, probably represents lightning and thunderbolts, or maybe rain and hail. The main theme is clearly the slaying of the serpent or dragon-god Illu-yankas by Inaras, and the intervention of Teshub is suggested by the details. The whole group illustrates nicely the Hittite legend of the event, in commemoration of which had grown up a festival with prescribed ritual.[2] Part of the head of a lion in the round, and a sculptured stone too weathered for description, complete the series.

Looking back for a moment at the style of these sculptured monuments, we may with some certainty attribute the two series to different building periods. The earliest are those just described, which, from the point of view of architecture and of symbolism, resemble, as we have seen, the palace works and sculptures of Eyuk; while the warrior costume is that of Iasily Kaya, Giaour Kalesi and Kara-Bel. The other sculptured slabs, which we described first, correspond more nearly from both points of view with the remains of Sinjerli and Sakje-Geuzi, which we shall find reason to believe in later chapters belong probably to a later phase than the foregoing. The one group may be dated in general terms between the middle of the fourteenth century B.C. and the age of Ḫattusil, and the other to the early centuries of the first millennium B.C.

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[1] Compare this detail on certain warrior figures from Carchemish, fig. 38 and p. 294.

[2] The text appears in 3 *K.Bo.*, No. 7; and a duplicate fragment in *K.U.B.*, xii. p. 50. The legend is translated by Zimmern in *Textbuch zur Religions geschichte*, 2nd Ed., Leipzig, 1922, pp. 331, 340. Also by Professor Sayce, *J.R.A.S.*, April 1922, p. 177, with additional notes, *ibid.*, Jan. 1917, p. 91. The writer is indebted to Dr. W. F. Albright for information as to this monument, which he has seen and studied in Constantinople; and also to H. E. Halil Bey for the photographs from which our drawing has been composed.

The list of important monuments from Malatia is supplemented by some notable discoveries made by the field explorers of the Oriental Institute of Chicago University in 1928.[1] These include :—

(*a*) A stone slab, six feet long, decorated with a libation scene, in which a bearded god, clad in short dress and conical hat, is enshrined behind a double-handled vessel. One hand is raised and the other is stretched forward, holding the thunderbolt emblem directly over the vase. Facing him the priest, unbearded and clad in long robe, holding in one hand the curved staff of his office, pours out with the other a libation from a small vase into the larger vessel between the figures. Behind the god a second deity, similarly clad, holds the bridles of a wagon containing the body of an eagle, and drawn by two horses. Between these two figures are two hieroglyphic signs, and behind the second figure appears a third holding a bull, with six hieroglyphic signs above him.

(*b*) A small block (2 feet 4 inches high and about 1 foot 8 inches square), sculptured on three faces, with separate subjects : (i) a bearded warrior or divinity, in short dress and conical hat, (ii) a Bull over a decorated band, and (iii) a winged demon in short skirt ; both hands are outstretched, the one holding a short sword and the other a conventionalised branch.

(*c*) Small sculptured block, decorated with winged demon in short skirt and conical head-dress, resembling that last described.

(*d*) Large stone broken. Two animal-headed demons wearing short dress face each other, each proffering with one outstretched hand a conventionalised palm tree, and holding another different one with the other hand over the shoulder.

This fresh series plainly belongs to the same category as those seen in our Pl. XXXVIII. and figs. 15, 16, 17, to which they add important detail. The small block (*b*), sculptured on three sides, is suggestively similar to that from the neighbouring site of Isbekjir, described below, with which it agrees generally in dimensions.

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[1] For our notes upon these instructive sculptures we are indebted to the courtesy of Professor Breasted and his collaborators. (Jan. 1929.)

Passing up the valley of the Tochma Su there is record of two monuments before reaching Derendeh. The one is a short inscription of incised hieroglyphs of which two lines are preserved, reported as seen and copied at Qotu-Qale.[1] This is a spot some twenty miles east of Derendeh where a high rocky spur of the mountains overhangs the river, forcing the road to make a considerable ascent. Near the top are two tumuli, and further along there has been noted a ruined fortress from which doubtless the site takes its name. Some four or five miles higher up, the river is joined from the north by a small tributary, the Balikli Su, which comes down from Tonus Dagh. Though its lower course lies largely through rocky ravines, this stream none the less is followed up for some way by a track. This leaves the main road somewhat below the junction of the rivers, traversing the Tochma Su by a ford in the woods of Asarjik, and passes almost at once through the village of Isbekjir before crossing to the right bank of the tributary.

ISBEKJIR is thus about fifteen miles below Derendeh, and here there was found by the Cornell Expedition of 1907 a monument of exceptional interest recalling features of the sculptures from Malatia.[2] The actual scene of discovery was a low rocky hill above the town, evidently the ancient citadel. The monument was much broken, but sufficient fragments were traced in and about the village to enable the discoverers to reconstruct a square pillar measuring about eighteen inches on each side and about six feet high. It had been composed of five cubes of basalt of which four were recovered. Each of these blocks is rough on one side, showing that the monument originally stood against the wall. The roughness of the lower part of the block first found indicates that this was the base, it having doubtless been set in the ground or inserted into a rock socket. On the upper portion of the three sides were three brief Hittite inscriptions, so encrusted with lime that it was the work of hours to clean them. The second and best preserved block is decorated on the right face with the representation of a charging bull, and standing on his back was a personage, as is shown by the feet with upturned shoes and the adorned garment hem. Beneath the bull are the nine strokes found in so many inscriptions, doubtless the heading or opening line of the inscription on the right side of the lowest block. The body of the figure as far as the waist appears on the third block. One hand holds a pitcher, the stream from which falls into a two-handled libation jar below. The richly adorned robe is crossed by the lituus. The fourth block contains only the head: consequently that which was missing must have depicted the body from waist to neck.

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[1] Recorded by the Cornell Expedition of 1907 but not seen by them owing to the river being impassable at the time. *Travels and Studies* (1911), i. p. 39 and Pl. xx.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 35 ff. with Pls. XVIII. and XIX. and figs. 33-6.

Two similar figures occupy the other sculptured sides. That which faced to the front was a being standing on mountains which are represented by a sort of fish scale pattern;[1] the other stands on a wall. Each has a Hittite inscription under his support; and the dress of each, as in the case of the first figure, is the richly adorned robe. The wall obviously represents that of a city, and the drawing of some of the courses is so poor and the courses themselves are so irregular, that one could well believe that the sculptor was picturing a part of the city wall in which a breach had been repaired. At the right is depicted a curved gate-post, similar to those false arched gates found in the Boghaz-Keui fortifications, and near the top is a panel inserted into the wall, containing a badly mutilated inscription. The block containing the heads represents these two figures as in the act of drinking from cups. The ears of all three are very large and the facial characteristics are of the regular Hittite type. The hair in the conventional curl behind and the head-dress seems to be the skull-cap.

The design upon this pillar suggests obvious points of comparison with the sculptures from Malatia that we have just considered; but in this case it is the figure upon the bull, ostensibly the deity himself, who pours out the libation, a fact which led the discoverers to suggest that perhaps this personage represented the priest-king in the insignia of the god. The dress is certainly that of the priesthood, and it appears to us more probable that owing to the smallness of the space at the disposal of the sculptor, he had been content to condense in this combination the more familiar libation scene in which the priest pours out a libation to the Sky-god upon the bull. The alternative explanation has no precedent in Hittite religious art.

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[1] Cf. Boghaz-Keui, p. 107, fig. 6.

Derendeh.—Passing onwards up the valley of the Tochma Su, the next group of monuments is found near Derendeh. When the English explorers Hogarth and Munro passed that way in 1891, there was rumour of a sculptured lion at a place called Hauz, not far from Derendeh towards the north.[1] But the monuments on record were found in the neighbourhood of Palanga (Chiftlik), which lies on the higher ground after leaving the gorge of the river, some three hours' journey to the south-west. Here a small lion carved in basaltic stone was seen built into the main gateway; and hard by, lying in a puddle near a well where it was used as a stepping-stone, was a fragment of a unique columnar figure made also of basalt. The lion was similar to those found in the neighbouring wayside cemetery, hence called Arslan Tash, which we shall presently describe; the columnar figure,[2] however, is unique and instructive. The fragment preserved is fifty-two inches high and about fifty-five inches in circumference towards the top: it swells a little lower down. It 'represents the lower portion of a draped figure; it is a mere shapeless column without feet, but a double protuberance of the stone at the end of the first line of the inscription is evidently intended to represent the buttocks. The drapery consists of an underskirt, plain except for a short series of perpendicular pleats down the middle of the back, and an upper garment thrown round the left side, the folded edges almost meeting under the right arm.[3] This mantle or cloak reaches down below the level of the knees; its vertical edges are fringed with a border of narrow lappets or tags very similar to those represented on a terra-cotta statuette from Cyprus.'[4] The inscription on this monument extends from the front of the figure around the left side to the back, covering two-thirds of the circumference. The signs are incised, and arranged in four bands, whereof the lowest is broader but less carefully cut than the others. Mr. Hogarth, in his description, points out other interesting analogies. The columnar form, the flat treatment of the drapery, and the ribbed pleats of the underskirt, recall to him the Hera of Samos in the Louvre ; while for the rendering of the zigzag folds at the edges of the cloak and the buttocks, a parallel might readily be found in early Greek art, as, for example, among the archaic statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. In particular, the large terra-cotta figures from Salamis present an interesting comparison as regards both form and the general disposition of the draperies.

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[1] *Recueil de Travaux*, xv. Pl. iv. p. 27. Hitherto no monuments are on record from the north side of this river, which seems to have formed the boundary to the lands of Gasga.

[2] Ramsay and Hogarth, *Recueil de Travaux*, xv. Pl. iii., Constantinople Museum, No. 1215 (630); Messerschmidt, *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. xx., and revised copy (1906), Pl. xx.

[3] Cf. *J.H.S.*, xii. Pl. ix.

[4] Hogarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

It is difficult to point to any nearer analogies than those which Mr. Hogarth indicated at the time of his discovery. Though belonging to a different place and later period, the statue of Hadad, found near Sinjerli, seems to us to be a product of the same tradition in art [1] as also another statue of later date from Sinjerli itself.[2] This is also of columnar form, though the bottom of the skirt and feet are shown. The arms also are in relief, while the head and face, the latter wofully ill-drawn, are in the round. It is a survival and development from the older motive. We may note also the human form of the draped altar from Fraktin (or Ferak-Din) described below.

Continuing from Derendeh southward, ‘ Arslan Tash ’ is reached about three miles after passing Palanga. The exact spot lies about one mile east of the Kurdish village of Yeni Keui ; it is marked by a series of hummocks near a small wayside graveyard, and receives its name [3] from two great monumental lions of hard limestone,[4] one erect, and the other fallen on its left side. They form a pair each about eight feet in length, and nearly six feet in height. These

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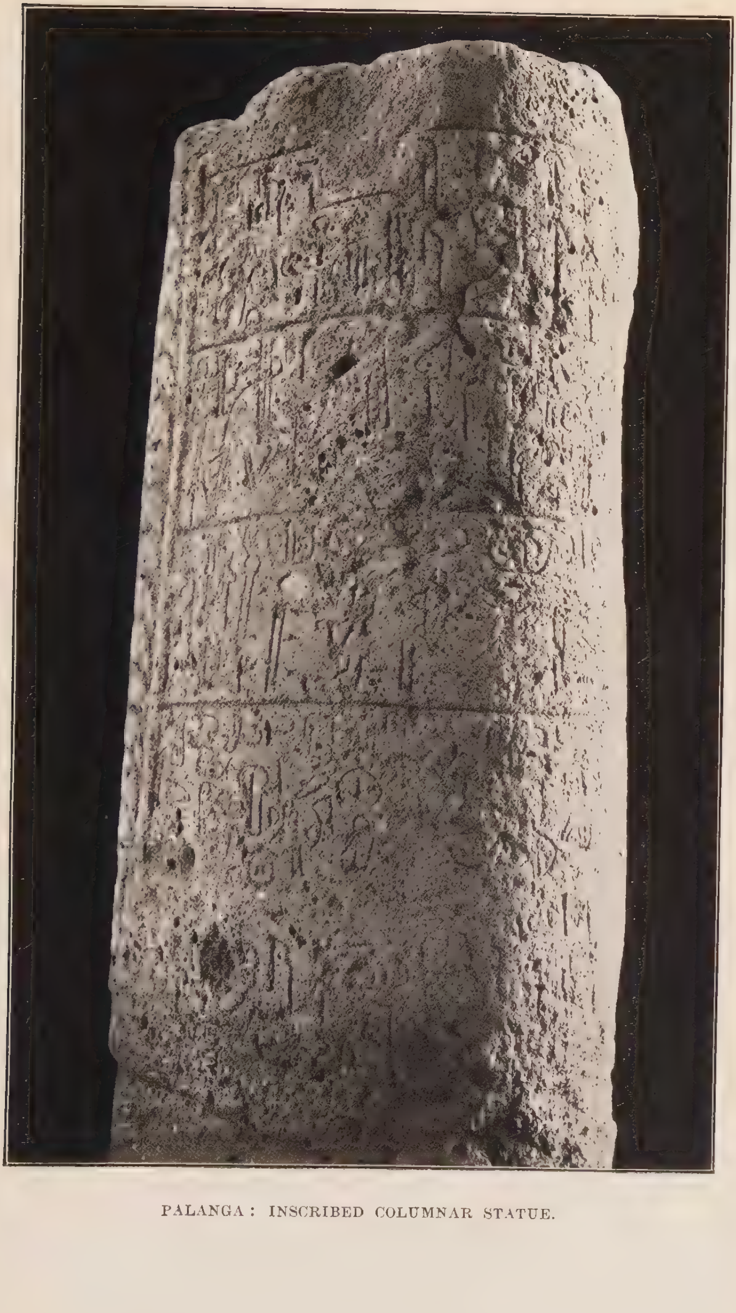
[1] Vorderasiat. Mus., Berlin, No. 2882. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (*Mitt. aus den Orient. Sammlungen*, 1893, Berlin, Heft xi.), Pl. VI.

[2] Messerschmidt, *C.I.H.* (1906), p. 13. The base of the statue appears to be a survival of the columnar bases of Sinjerli and Sakje-Geuzi (Pl. L.), in the design of which two sphinxes support the drum of the column upon their backs. See below, p. 274.

[3] The name means ‘ Lion-stone,’ and is familiar wherever such monuments are found.

[4] Ramsay and Hogarth, *loc. cit.*, Pl. II., A.



PALANGA: INSCRIBED COLUMNAR STATUE.

monuments, though large and impressive, are of crude appearance. They recall most nearly two massive early lions found at Sinjerli,[1] but though obeying certain early canons they are less thoroughly worked, as well as more roughly drawn. Their mouths are open, but exaggerated in size. The rough of the mane is strongly but not finely marked ; the legs are not at all disengaged from the stone ; the forepaws are almost shapeless, but the hind ones are fully outlined, with the muscle of the thigh suggested. Only one forepaw and one hindpaw appear in the profile view (a purely Hittite convention), while the tail comes down between the legs forward, ending in a curl.[2] Mr. Hogarth received the impression from their position when found that these lions may have marked the entrance to a building such as we have observed in the sphinxes of Eyuk.

Over the watershed nearing Albistan, at a spot between the villages of Ashagha and Yapalak, a badly defaced Hittite inscription has been seen,[3] but not published, and it seems to have been removed. The record, however, marks the continuity of the track, and the next discovery brings us well into the basin of the PYRAMUS at IZGÎN, a Turkoman village, some six miles north-west from Albistan near the confluence of the Khurman Su. The monument was originally seen standing as the headstone to a grave in the village itself, but it was examined and photographed amid considerable excitement at Albistan,[4] whither it had been transported ; and it is now in the museum at Constantinople. The object is an obelisk, of which there is only one other example. Its Hittite origin is attested by the inscription which covers its four sides. Its material is coarse limestone ; in height it measures eight feet two inches ; in form it narrows slightly towards the top from one point of view, maintaining its width (twenty-one inches) in the other. The tapering faces are narrower at the bottom than the others, being only ten inches wide. The apex is slightly rounded. The hieroglyphs are in strong relief, arranged in rows. There are about nineteen of these rows on the broad faces, and sixteen only on the narrow ones, so that the signs are less crowded on these sides. Unfortunately the monument is very worn around the middle, and a considerable portion of the inscription cannot be recovered.

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[1] See below, p. 261, and *Mitt. a. d. Orient. Samm. Sendschirli*, iii. (Berlin, 1902), Pl. XLVI. Originals in the Berlin Vorderasiat. Mus., Nos. 2718, 3001.

[2] Cf. the lions of Marash and Sakje-Geuzi, Pls. XLIII., XLVIII.

[3] Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey* (1884), p. 299.

[4] Ramsay and Hogarth, *Recueil*, etc., xv. p. 30 and Pls. I.-II.

GEURUN.—The monuments between Derendeh and Albistan mark the southern cross route which linked the valley of the Tochma Su with that of the PYRAMUS. Resuming now our original direction up the former valley, the next Hittite indications are found at Geurun, which is some way further up the river on the edge of the divide. This place (the GAURAINA of Ptolemy and Guriania of the Assyrian texts) lies in a defile on both banks of the river. Just above the village the waters race through a narrow rocky gorge, at the foot of which are to be seen two inscriptions.[1] The one is incised on the face of an overhanging crag, near a small spring. It fills a space about four feet wide and three feet high, and is placed about twelve feet or more above the ground. The other is somewhat higher on the declivity, and further from the stream: the hieroglyphs are larger than in the former case, and less carefully incised. The inscriptions are much weathered, so that it is hardly possible to make much of them, but they seem to be partly in duplicate. The emblems which distinguish the two chief male deities in the divine triad at Boghaz-Keui may be recognised; and Professor Sayce has also detected a variant of the place-name frequently recurring on inscriptions of Carchemish which suggests that there existed at the time they were carved some political relation between the two places.

EKREK.—Passing on westward from Geurun over the watershed by Azizieh, we descend by one of the small tributaries of the Zamanti Su upon Ekrek, a small Armenian village, eight hours' easy journey from Kaisariyeh. It boasts three Christian churches, and from one of the graveyards there has come to light a stone [2] of special interest. This was originally a Hittite monument with a panel of hiero-

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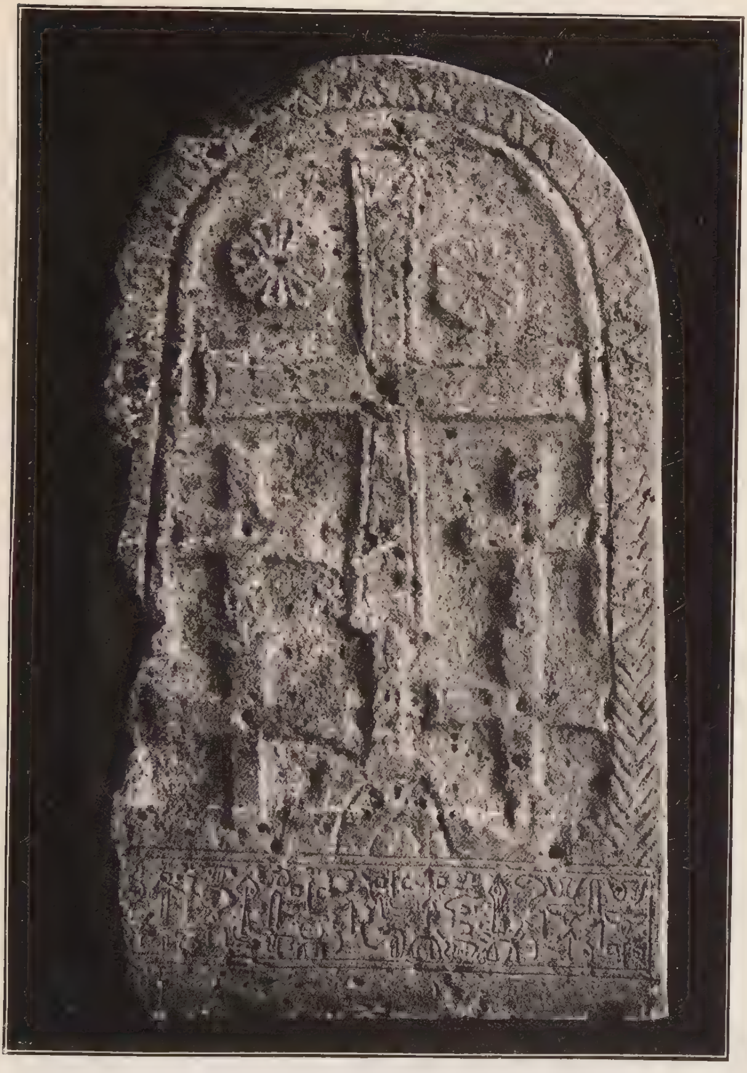
[1] First noticed by Sir Charles W. Wilson; Wright, *Empire*, etc., p. 57. Ramsay and Hogarth, *Recueil*, etc., xiv. and Pl. IV. *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XVIII. and p. 15.

[2] Pl. XL.; *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XXXI. p. 26; *ibid.* (1906), Pl. XXXI. A and p. 23. Constantinople Museum, No. 1217.



EKREK: HITTITE INSCRIPTION REDRESSED WITH CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS.

glyphs incised along the bottom, bordered by a double line. A few signs appear below, but they are not continued. The stone has been redressed, it would appear, in Christian times, and five crosses have been carved upon it, being left in false-relief by cutting away the surface of the stone. There is a feather and zigzag border around the edge, which may possibly be original. The two rosettes might equally well be a Hittite device, but their relief corresponds with that of the crosses. The latter are symmetrically arranged, two small ones on each side under the arms of the larger central cross, which stands on a bar upon a roughly incised 'calvary.'

TASHJI.—Farther down the Zamanti Su we come to the village of Tashji, placed in a narrow glen on the bank of a small tributary. Here, upon a rock, there are visible the incised outlines of two figures and a considerable number of hieroglyphs.[1] The carvings are so weathered, and the record of them so insufficient, that little can be made out of the inscription. The two figures, however, may be judged to have been clad in priestly dress, with close-fitting skull-cap. The sharply-cut features of one of them remain conspicuous. They are to the right hand of the scene as published, and facing to the observer's right; hence it is probable that they face some deity or deified object which has escaped observation. The position of this monument is of special interest, as it is only eight miles eastward from Fraktin, which is found on the next main bend of the river.

FRAKTIN (otherwise Ferak-Din).[2]—Here is one of the most instructive Hittite sculptures,[3] marking an ancient shrine. From its position on the river, Professor Ramsay has, with reason, identified this place with the DASTARKON on the river KARMALAS mentioned by Strabo,[4] and has shown how the omission of the name of the place from the list of *Hiera*, though at one time the most important, and the head over all others in CAPPADOCIA, argues for its extreme antiquity as a religious centre, the importance of which was already passing when the list was made. Its sanctity was preserved, however, even in Christian times, by the Bishopric of KISKISSOS, situated at Kiskeui, the nearest village to the site.

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[1] Hans Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 178, fig. 3; Jeraphanion, *Proc. S.B.A.*, xxx. (1908), pp. 43, 44, and Pl. II.

[2] Murray's *Handbook for Asia Minor*, p. 273.

[3] Ramsay and Hogarth, *Recueil*, etc., xiv. p. 81, and Pl. VI.; *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XXX. and p. 25; Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1898), Pl. XXIII. and p. 125.

[4] *H.G.*, pp. 288, 312. The identification probably remains unshaken by the discovery at Tashji. Cf. Strabo, xii. 2-6. The word seems to involve the name TARK . . .

The sculptures[1] are found about half a mile north-north-east of the village, carved upon a convex rock facing to the west, where a cliff about fifteen or twenty feet high rises above a sluggish stream, the Kara Su, which flows past at the foot. They are about four feet from the ground, and the figures are from three feet to three feet four inches in height. The group fills a space nine feet eight inches wide, or, including an outer group of hieroglyphs, thirteen feet ten inches over all. The carving is executed in relief about two inches high. There are two scenes, in each of them two personages. The group on the left consists of two male figures, facing one another, and separated by an altar. They are both clad in Hittite fashion, with short tunic, conical hat, and shoes with upturned toes,[2] while each has seemingly a dagger at the waist. The figure to the left holds out some object in his extended left hand above the altar. In his right hand there is grasped a curving staff, which rests upon the shoulder.[3] With this figure there is associated the divided oval, the emblem of sanctity; so that we cannot doubt but that this is a divine figure to whom the other is ministering. The figure upon the other side of the altar is more defaced; he seems to hold under the left arm a triangular bow,[4] while with his right hand he pours out a libation which is represented by a wavy outline to the ground before his feet.[5] The altar between the two is very curious, and the object upon it unintelligible. The pedestal is draped like a human figure with a narrow folded garment ending in a fringe. A narrowing at the top represents the waist, which is encircled by a horizontal belt.

The group to the right is not completely carved, the outlines being shown, though the background is cut away. On

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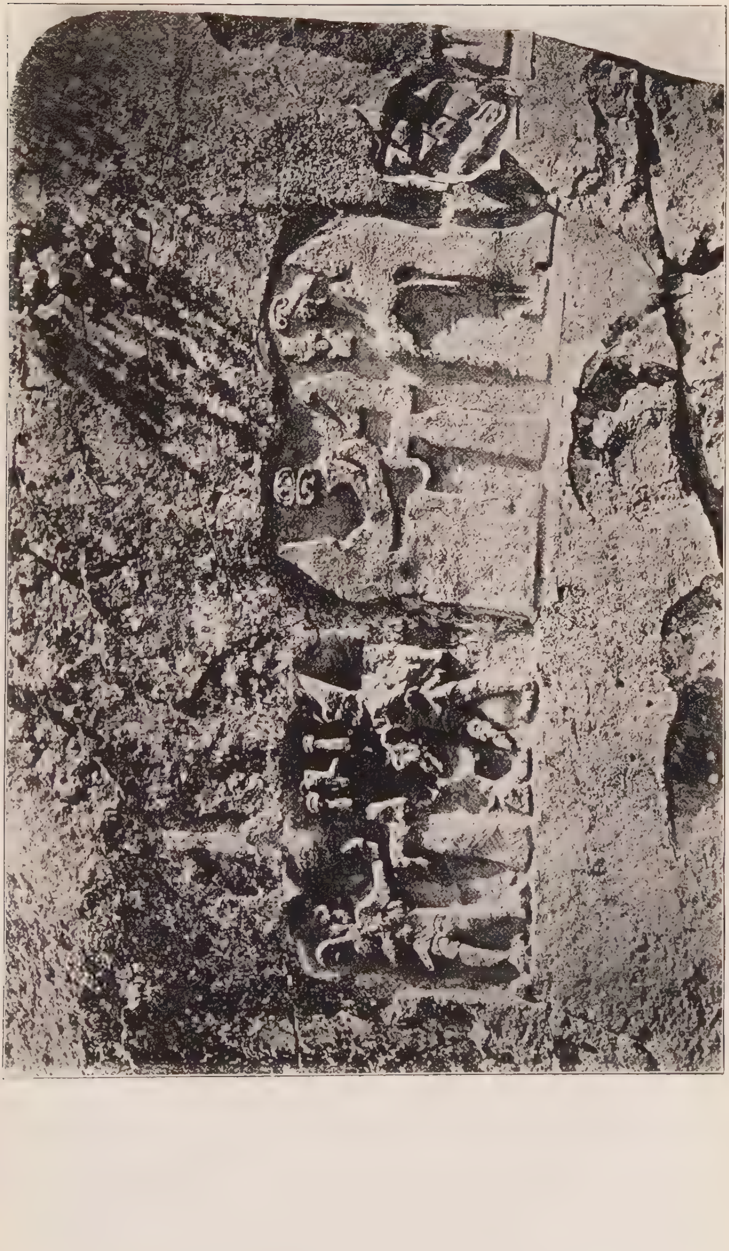
[1] Pl. XLI.

[2] Cf. the god-figures of Boghaz-Keui, Pl. XXIV.

[3] This position is unique; cf. the priest-figures in figs. 6, 8.

[4] Cf. the god-figures of Kara-Bel, fig. 12; Malatia, Pl. XXXVIII. and fig. 17.

[5] Cf. the libation scenes of Malatia, Pl. XXXVIII., fig. 16, and of Eyuk, p. 143.



FRAKTIN : THE ROCK-SCULPTURES.

Libation scenes to the Mother-goddess (right) and to the Son-consort (left).

the left of the altar in this case, the figure is seated on a square-shaped stool, and notwithstanding the conical hat (generally a part of the male attire), the only parallel cases of a seated deity suggest the figure of the Mother-goddess.[1] However that may be, the hands are held out towards the altar. On the opposite side there stands a similar long-robed figure, and the garment in this case shows a considerable train behind, while in front the turned-up toe of one foot protrudes. The left hand seems to lean on a long staff,[2] while the right is extended and pours out an offering which as in the counterpart reaches to the ground.[3] The object perched upon the altar most resembles the crudely drawn outline of a falcon or other large bird [4] facing the goddess; but this detail, like the rest, is difficult to determine, owing to the unfinished nature of the carving.

Much has been written, and much might still be argued, as to the meaning of these sculptures. We seem to have, briefly, two libation scenes represented; and on the analogy of the sculptures of Iasily-Kaya,[5] we may feel drawn to see in these sculptures two shrines, the one of the Mother-goddess, the other of her companion, the youthful god. At Boghaz-Keui the same divine pair appear in another setting, confronted by the chief male deity of the Hittite conquerors. Here, however, we seem to be in presence of an earlier and simpler manifestation of the aboriginal cult of the Earth Mother and her offspring, whose shrine was well placed at the bountiful source of a perennial stream.

Asarjik.—The line of road which we have followed with two detours from Malatia by way of Derendeh, Geurun and Ekrek, leads us at length to Kaisariyeh, the road-centre of the area. Here two monuments are found on the slopes of Mount Argaeus, and we include at this point others from the vicinity. We find it appropriate to group these monuments with those of Anti-Taurus, of which system Argaeus is really the most advanced and most prominent peak. We have no doubt that near the summit of this magnificent slumbering volcanic cone there might be found traces of Hittite high-places, but for the present our only durable Hittite traces are found a comparatively short way up the ascent. The first of these is to be seen at a place called Tope Nefezi, near to Asarjik.[1] Here, among a number of small rocks, there is found one, enclosed with a growth of low scrub, upon the southern face of which a Hittite inscription is incised. The spot is near one of the main ascents of the cone, commanding a view of the plain below, while in front the snowy peak emerges in vivid, gleaming contrast out of the dense growth of pine and fir trees that clothe the middle heights of the mountain. A stream coming from high up the mountain passes near the spot, and descends just eastward of Kaisariyeh to join the Deli Su. This river, flowing west through the marshes, shortly afterwards enters the Kara Su, which empties into the Halys just above Bir Geuz bridge. The site thus belongs strictly to the Halys basin, but we group it with those of Anti-Taurus owing to its obvious topographical connection.

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[1] Cf. Eyuk, Pl. xxx. (i); Sipylus, Pl. xxxvi.

[2] Cf. the female figure at Boghaz-Keui, Pl. xxiv.

[3] Cf. the libation scene at Malatia above, Pl. xxxviii., lower.

[4] Cf. the sculptures from Marash, fig. 20, and Yarre, fig. 10.

[5] Cf. p. 117.

The rock itself is cracked vertically and weathered at the edges, so that some of the inscription on the left hand is missing, and some of it is illegible. It covers a space nearly four feet wide and nearly two feet high. It consists of two bands, of which the lower one, about eight inches in height, is marked only faintly with half-obliterated signs suggesting graffiti. The upper band is covered with incised hieroglyphs and a group of short upright strokes probably representing numerals. In the left part of the inscription three or more signs are superposed in each column, while the whole is to be read clearly from right to left. For the moment the presence and position of this monument are its chief features of importance.

Tekir-Devrent.—This village lies between Kaisariyeh and Everek, at the point where the road begins to descend from the shoulder of Mount Argaeus. Here two inscriptions have been seen and copied.[2] The blocks on which the hieroglyphs are incised each measure about two feet three inches by one foot eight inches; and each seem to have contained six lines of writing. They were built into the wall of a stable attached to a solitary guard-house: and near by there is a spring, the only one, according to the garrison, in the mountain side. From it water gushes forth in abundance, icy cold from the melting snows. The permanent sanctity of the place is suggested by the scattered building-stones of a church.

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[1] *Liv. A.A.*, i., No. 1, p. 6, and Pls. viii. and ix. (i).

[2] Cornell Expedition, Oct. 22, 1909. *Travels and Studies*, i. ii. p. 16, and Pls. vii. and viii.

EGRI KEUI is a small village hamlet to the south of Mount ARGAEUS on the direct road from TYANA to Fraktin. A mound with natural core divides the village into two parts, that to the south being the Circassian section and that to the north Turkish. This mound is rich in fragments of large jars, both painted and unpainted, bits of charcoal, and pieces of bone with traces of partial cremation. The fragments of inscription found here were incised on adjacent faces of a broken block of black basalt. The characters are made with extreme care and are almost perfectly preserved, a clear indication that the stone must have been buried or otherwise protected until a comparatively recent period.[1]

KARA EYUK is a village some twelve miles north-east of Kaisariyeh, which has been for years a prolific source of inscribed Assyrian tablets.[2] These identify it with *KANES*, one of the oldest city states upon the plateau. Here Dr. Fr. Hrozný has now conducted a successful exploration,[3] locating the tablets to a piece of relatively low ground, two hundred yards north-east of the prominent mound of Kultepé which distinguishes the site. The area apparently marked the site of a bazaar, dating from 2100 B.C.; for here in special brick-built chambers, and for the most part properly arranged, more than a thousand commercial tablets or pieces thereof were found, some lying in small piles upon the flag-stones that paved the rooms, others grouped by 10, 20, or by other round numbers, in large vessels of pottery, some of special shape with lids. These tablets include business correspondence with *ASSUR* and with more local trade centres, including *BURUSḪATTIM*, *WAḪSUSANA* and *ZALPA*, as well as statements of sales and contracts, despatch-notes of goods, legal decisions and arbitrations, and all the varied records associated with an active commercial centre of the Semitic type. They pertain to the age just previous to the consolidation of the Ḫattic Kingdom.

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[1] Cornell Expedn., *op. cit.*, p. 23, and Pl. XIII.

[2] Contenau, *Trente tablettes Cappadociennes*, etc.

[3] Hrozný, *Syria*, viii. (1927), pp. 1 ff.

Upon the neighbouring mound (Kul-tepé) the explorer laid bare the traces of an important building, about 65 yards by 60, comprising a central court surrounded by corridors and chambers, the walls of which were 5 to 7 feet in thickness and were built in the lower courses of large, plain blocks of local stone, carried up in brick. The plan of this building is comparable in all respects with the central (*i.e.* the later) portion of the Lower Palace at Boghaz-Keui; and though Dr. Hrozný proposes to assign to it a date between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries B.C., we see no reason to depart from the date arrived at in the other case, viz. about 1000 B.C. An earlier building period is certainly indicated by a sculptured block which was found re-used as a building stone in the walls. This shows the lower part of a male figure in Hittite shoes [1] and obviously of the male type of the fourteenth century B.C., now familiar in the sculptures of Kara-Bel, Giaour Kalesi, Malatia and the sanctuary of the Ḫattic capital. The further excavation of this mound will reveal precious materials alike in architecture, sculpture and ceramics, to serve as *criteria* in Hittite archaeology, to which in this case the prospect of further inscribed tablets would provide a sure foundation.

KURU-BEL.—From Kaisariyeh we now follow the other strategic road which leads south-east towards Marash, by way of the high pass of Kuru-Bel, in the Soghanlu Dagh above Shahr. Here the monument is a great altar of stone, square cut, with a lion crouching on the top on either hand. The material is grey trachyte, which is only found fifteen or twenty miles nearer to Mount ARGAEUS; [2] and as the object weighs just over a ton, it is a matter of considerable perplexity how it was transported in ancient times over the rugged path to its present position. It stands on a limestone rock which rises from a small grassy plateau overshadowed by the lofty peaks of the Soghanlu Dagh, being itself about 6500 feet above the sea. The base of the object is solid and rectangular in form, with a length of four feet;

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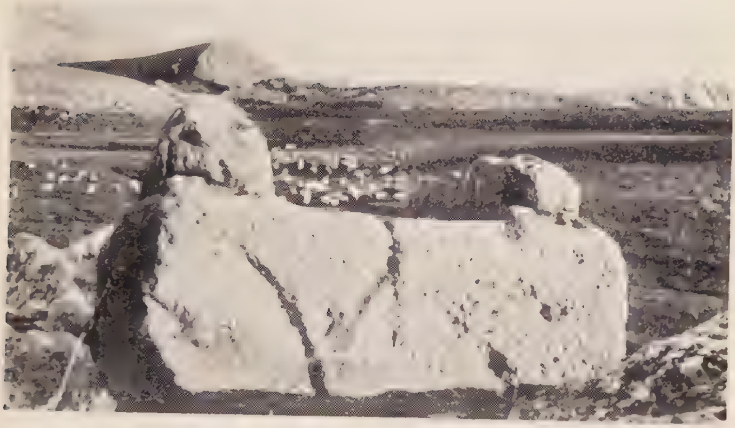
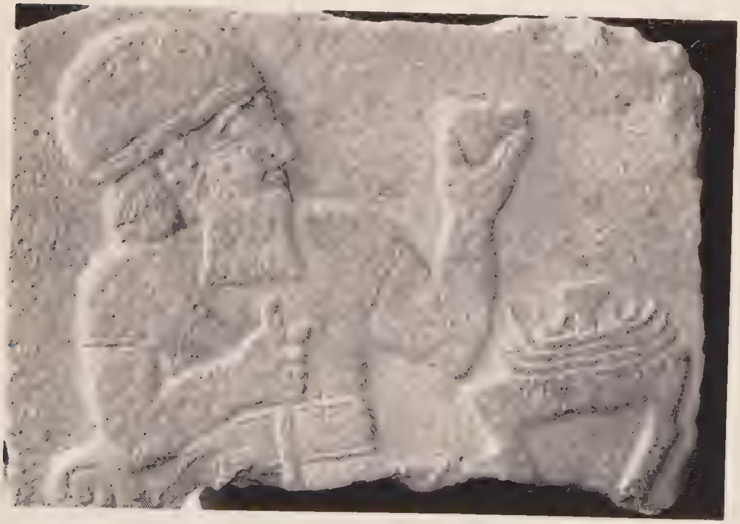
[1] Hrozný, *loc. cit.*, Pl. II. fig. 1.

[2] G. de Jeraphanion, *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1908 (Feb.), p. 42, and Pl. I. For the photograph we are indebted to the members of the American Mission at Kaisariyeh, who called attention to the monument.



KURU-BEL: LION ALTAR AT THE PASS ABOVE COMANA.



MARASH: KINGLY FIGURE IN FEAST SCENE.

its width is just under three feet, and its height seventeen inches. The two crouching lions are carved in the same piece of stone, one on either side, like the decorative arms to a throne. The stone is considerably weathered, so that it is not possible to recover much impression of the original finish or detail of the work. Shepherds of the vicinity also make use of it for pounding up the roots from which they extract a dye for marking their sheep, and this usage has further damaged the lions. The limbs of the animals are outlined, and shown in full relief; the rest of the carving is all in the round. The lions are nearly as long as the stone is broad, while they are ten inches high and about eleven inches broad. The clear space between them on the top of the altar is about two feet. In front there may be made out several incised Hittite hieroglyphs, which seem to have formed part of a considerable inscription in three lines. This altar is unique. The lions suggest that it was dedicated to the Mother-goddess, as would seem appropriate in the vicinity of the great sanctuary at COMANA. If, however, it were the god of the pass that was to be propitiated a Sky-god of the Teshub cycle would seem indicated; but the cults of the leading god and goddess were so interwoven that their symbols were freely interchanged.[1] In any case the sculptures of the Kara Dagh that we have examined prepare us for local shrines of this special character.

MARASH.—Placed at the foot of the main pass of Taurus, at the point whence the several main routes radiate into Northern Syria, Marash occupied a key position, and from the beginning must have formed one of the important centres for Hittite military operations. We have seen that it played a permanent rôle in local history, and was the last of the Hittite cities to be overwhelmed by the Assyrians. Modern Marash is a considerable town placed on sloping ground well above the plain and 2300 feet above the sea. The conical knoll to the west of the town, crowned by the remains of the mediaeval and earlier fortifications, probably marks the original village 'tell,' which, like the mounds of Sakje-Geuzi, began to grow with the first settlements of Hittites upon the spot. Into an arched stone gateway on this acropolis there had been built two sculptured lions of Hittite workmanship, one of them, indeed, freely inscribed with Hittite characters. Originally the two lions had unquestionably guarded the entrance to a palatial building, forming the corner-pieces of the lowest course;[1] but in later times they had been poised aloft in the masonry as mere ornaments.[2] Though these are perhaps the most striking objects from this place, several other monuments are on record, the interest of which is enhanced by their variety of character and detail.[3] These include a funerary slab sculptured with the representation of a ceremonial feast, similar to those of Sinjerli and Sakje-Geuzi, but with the addition of Hittite hieroglyphs upon the sculptured face, as seen at Yarre upon the plateau; also the body of a small statue with a considerable part of the sculpture preserved, and a stela with carved figure and long incised inscription. Several other sculptures may be unhesitatingly included in the list, though not accompanied by Hittite hieroglyphs. One of these is a fragment showing a woman seated with a child on her knee, holding in her left hand a lyre upon which is perched a bird. Another is likewise broken, but the figure of a man serving at a table is preserved, and there is clear suggestion of a greater figure on the opposite side. Below, in an ill-drawn scene, a man holding a spear is represented leading a horse.[4] A fine monumental piece is to be added to the list, consisting of a cubical block of stone carved on the four sides, with inscription in this case as well as a human figure in relief. There is also record of various other fragmentary carvings and inscriptions. The name Marash appears in a Hittite document,[5] first in a list of the shrines of Teshub. The text gives an inventory of the temple furniture, including the image of a standing bull covered with gold leaf, as well as various tools and weapons of gold and silver, and prescribes the ritual and offerings of the daily sacrifice. There can be no doubt but that Marash was a

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[1] It is on record in the Annals of King Mursil II. that on the eve of battle he visited the sanctuary of the Sun-goddess of *ARINNA*, and subsequently received an omen in the mountains of *LAWASA*. (Hrozný, *Heth. Texts*, *K.Bo.* 2 and 3, obv. i. 26 ff., ii. 15 ff.)

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[1] As at Sakje-Geuzi. See Pl. XLVII.

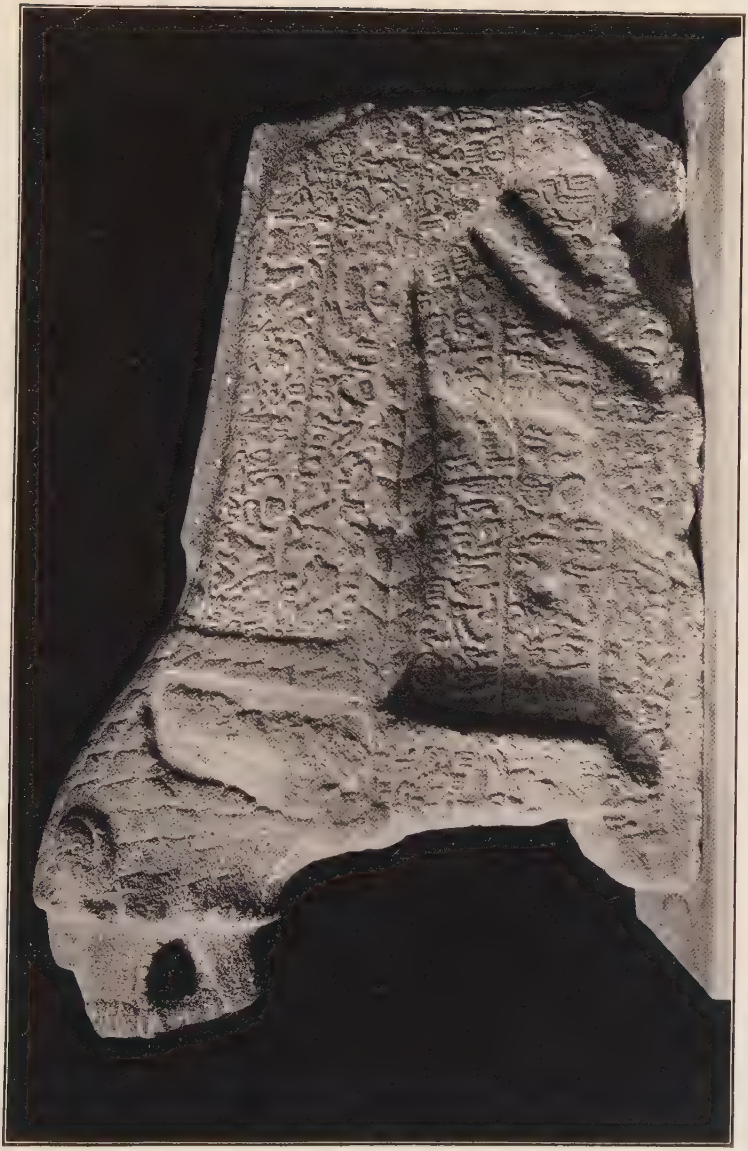
[2] Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii., fig. 268.

[3] Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen*, etc., Atlas, Pls. XLVII.-XLIX.

[4] These fragments are described on pp. 230-2.

[5] Hrozný, 3 *Bo. Stu.*, *Heth. Texts*, No. 1, obv. i. ll. 28 ff.

PLATE XLIII



MARASH: ARCHITECTURAL LION CORNER-STONE INSCRIBED WITH HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS IN RELIEF.

royal seat intimately associated with the fortunes and culture of the Ḫattic capital.

The first object of this list, the inscribed lion, is well known, and has several times been published in illustration. We reproduce a photograph of its profile,[1] which is the most typical and interesting point of view. Its architectural nature is evident, and is entirely accordant with that of the lions found *in situ* at Sakje-Geuzi.[2] It must have stood at the left hand as the decorative corner-stone of a palatial portico, with its fellow lion in the opposite corner. The place on the back prepared for the reception of an upper course of masonry may be seen, and the relative alignment of both walls may be inferred. The forequarters and head of the lion stood out from the wall, and these are sculptured in the round ; the rest of the body is in relief. The treatment obeys the now familiar canon, though not carried out in detail : the ruffle of the neck and hairy belly are suggested ; the tail curls under, and is seen between the two hind legs. As usual in Hittite art, only one foreleg is seen in profile, contrasting with the familiar Assyrian representations. In this case, however, detail of execution is sacrificed to the long inscription, which uniquely covers the body and even the legs of the animal, as well as the spaces between them. The hieroglyphs are deliberate and well cut ; the basaltic nature of the rock probably accounts for their superficial roughness, especially in view of the great number of signs carved on a really small surface ; for the object is much less than life-size, being only seventeen inches high, thirty-five inches long, and just over ten inches thick.[3] From the rendering of the inscription by Professor Sayce,[4] it would appear to have been carved by the Hittite king of the district, who united the priestly dignities with his office, as we should expect from the accounts of Strabo in parallel cases.[5]

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[1] Pl. XLIII., from a photo of the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, by courtesy of the late H. E. Hamdy Bey.

[2] Below, Pls. XLVII., XLVIII.

[3] The original is now at Constantinople Museum, No. 840 ; a cast may be seen in the British Museum.

[4] *Proc. S.B.A.* (Nov. 1905), p. 225.

[5] *E.g.* at COMANA of PONTUS, Strabo, XII. iii. 32 ; *ibid.*, and of CAPPADOCIA, where the priest was second in rank, *ibid.*, XII. ii. 3 ; also at PESSINUS, *ibid.*, XII. vi. 3.

There are several striking points developed by this translation, which though unconfirmed commands our interest and respect. The king claims for himself amongst other attributes to be 'the dirk-bearer[1] powerful,' 'citizen of Merash,' 'priest of Merash,' 'royal lord of these lands, king of the lands of the god,' 'who provides food for the sanctuary,' 'of the men of the corn land the chief,' 'seated on the throne of Kas.' He also claims to 'have nourished the sanctuary of the Hittite . . . the god's high place,' and to 'have made a high place for the dancers' for the celebration of religious rites. The suggestion of a theocratic ideal in state affairs, beginning with the high priesthood of the sovereign, is carried further by naming the subjects of the Marash king 'children of the gods,' for which there is analogy in the Vannic inscriptions.

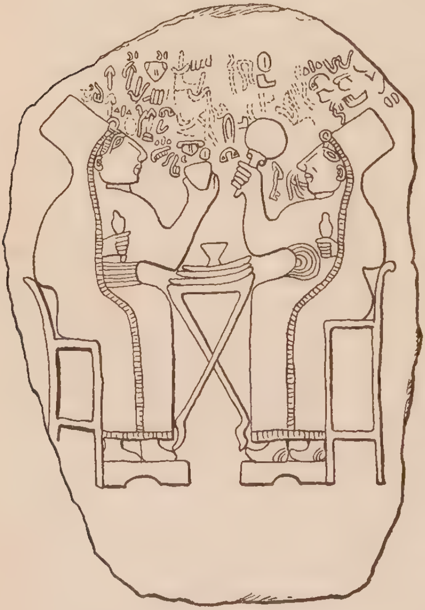

Fig. 18.—Ceremonial Feast: Marash.

The stone sculptured with the representation of a ceremonial feast is reported to have been found, together with 'lance heads and potsherds,' in a vineyard of Marash.[2] This class of monument has a wide distribution and varying features, as may be seen in those found at Yarre upon the plateau and in the nearer sites of Sakje-Geuzi and Sinjerli (described below). In this case both figures are seated, and presumably represent females; that on the right the Mother-goddess herself, and that on the left her votary. Details of the busts are not visible, and it is only the relative smallness of the feet and hands, and certain fulness in the treatment of the bodies, that offer independent suggestion of their sex. They are seated on high square chairs with backs that curl away at the top, and their feet rest upon low square footstools. A table between them has straight legs, of which only two are shown, ornamented in some way at the feet. On the table are three round bread-cakes and a cup. The figures are *vis-à-vis*: each one stretches out the further hand, the left one holding a cup, the other a round mirror. Their nearer hands are drawn back and only just protrude from their cloaks; each seems to hold the same sort of object, 'perhaps a vase or pomegranate.'[1] The garment is curious, being continuous over the head-dress, and descending to the ankles, with a fringe or border all along the edge and round the bottom. There is a waistband to each figure, which seemingly ends in a number of separate strands, used (as now in the locality) for its attachment.[2] The head-dress is singular, being cylindrical in shape, recalling most nearly that of the Turkoman women.[3] The faces of the persons are ill-drawn and unnatural, but prominence is given to the straightness of nose in line with the receding forehead [4] and to the fulness of the lips. Above and between the heads there are traces of a considerable inscription in relief, of which the signs towards the sides can be made out with some certainty; but the middle portion is too worn to enable one to study the sequence of the characters, or even to decide whether they form two groups, one referring to each person. The whereabouts of this stone is uncertain, but casts are in the Berlin Museum. Its height is forty-nine inches and width thirty-five inches; it is just over fifteen inches thick. The material is basaltic stone or dolerite.

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[1] Cf. the sculpture No. 72 at Iasily Kaya, Pl. xxv., and p. 98; also p. 109.

[2] Messerschmidt, *C.I.H.* (1900), pt. 5, Pl. xxii., and *ibid.*, 4, p. 18. No. 2 in our illustrations, Pl. xlii.

The portion of a statue from Marash [5] is of importance as numbering, together with a large hand from the same place, some fragments from Aleppo, and a broken figure from Kurts-oghlu, among the few local Hittite sculptures in the round on record. Unfortunately this one is too damaged and too small to tell us much of this feature of Hittite art. With the exception of the right shoulder, however, the whole body is preserved, and only the head and feet are lacking; but the style of the object is formal, and in place of artistic detail there are merely four or five irregular bands of inscription in relief, with other signs upon the preserved shoulder. The right hand remains, but it is worn; in the left there seems to be held a sort of loop with pendent tassel. The material of the statuette is basalt. The height preserved is under nine inches, its width six inches. This torso seems to be distinct from another of similar material which seems to have come from the same vicinity.[1] Of this only two broad bands of the inscription remain, but they seem to mark the beginning of a long inscription; the symbols are boldly cut in relief, and are similar in every way to those of Jerabis. The fragment is rounded and apparently formed part of a hollow figure: it was copied by the discoverers amid much difficulty and subsequently disappeared. The existence of a third statue at Marash, but in this case of gigantic size, is indicated by a large hand, fully twice life-size, and carved in the round.[2] It is, of course, impossible to say from this fragment whether it is really of Hittite origin.

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[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii. p. 64.

[2] Compare this detail in a sculpture from Carchemish, p. 286, fig. 34.

[3] Still worn by the women at Kartal, which is in the Kurt Dagh to the south of Marash. A suggestive general resemblance is to be found on certain Etruscan monuments.

[4] Cf. Pls. II. and III.

[5] *C.I.H.* (1900-5), Pl. XXIII. A-B. Original in the Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum, No. 973.

Another important monument of Marash has the appearance of a royal stela with a long inscription accompanied by an image of the king.[3] This belongs to a class of monument seen already at Bor upon the plateau, and of which we shall find further examples at Carchemish. In this case the figure occupies the central part of the stone, reaching almost to its full length; and the inscription is incised in six rows across the whole body. The face of the kingly personage is turned to his right, and the whole figure is in profile with the exception of the shoulders, which are square to the observer—in conformity with the common Oriental principles of drawing. The right hand holds a staff which touches the ground in front of the right foot, and rises vertically as high as the shoulders; both elbows are bent at right angles, the left fist being closed and shown about the middle of the body. The robe is a single garment reaching to the ankles, the bottom being fringed or bordered. The toes of the boots are upturned, and, being represented clumsily, look like *sabots*. The face of the man is too worn to show much character; there are to be seen, however, a long curled beard, a band around the forehead, and the hair or wig ending in a prominent curled bunch behind the neck. This stone is said to have been found in a burying-place outside Marash on the road to Adana. Its height is nearly three feet eight inches, and its breadth just over one foot ten inches.[1]

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[1] Hogarth, *Recueil*, etc., xv. p. 32, and Pl. ɪɪ., fig. B

[2] Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum, No. 972.

[3] *C.I.H.* (1900-4), p. 20; *ibid.* (1900-5), Pl. xxv.

This monument must yield place to another, which is of unique character and interest, subsequently discovered [2] on the citadel. This is a block of granite more nearly cubical in shape, but with the top and bottom broken away, so that its original height remains problematical. The preserved portion measures about two feet three inches in height, and the combined length of three sides, which are approximately equal, is about five feet two inches. On three sides the inscription is continuous; the hieroglyphs are in relief and are arranged in five bands, of which four are seemingly complete. A sixth band at the bottom is partly traceable, and there may have been others below; at the top, however, the limit is clearly marked, so that the beginning of the inscription is preserved. The opening groups of signs resemble closely those on the lion previously described, though variations of single signs are noticeable, and may possibly supply philologists with alternative readings. It is not, however, the inscription, though unusually legible and complete, that attracts our interest, so much as the sculptures and composition of the whole. The inscription is preceded by a king-like figure in relief, who occupies the right-hand portion of the side on which he is carved and faces away from the inscription, to the right, looking, that is, to the corner. The inscription follows: the height of the figure is equal to four bands of the hieroglyphs, and the lower bands project under his feet. The second side is entirely filled with the continuation of the inscription, which comes to an end at the left hand of the third side (which is opposite the figure) with the upper part of the picture of a dagger and part of its attachment. On the fourth side there is no inscription; the corners are cut away, but there is seen in the middle a sort of tassel, on a large scale accordant with that of the dagger-hilt. It must be noted that the king is turned towards this object in the extended drawing: and though the drawing is not good or well preserved, he is portrayed much as on the stela last described. He wears a long robe bound around the waist; the short sleeves are ornamented at the ends, whether with a plain band or otherwise; and the bottom of the plain skirt, which reaches to the ankles, is also fringed or bordered in some way. The toes are shown upturned. The head-dress seems to be a close-fitting skull-cap, behind which the hair descends in the familiar bunching curl, and the beard also hangs in curls. The face is crudely represented, the mouth being no longer distinguishable. The left hand, which is very disproportioned, is held up before the face with fingers towards the mouth, in the position which in the hieroglyphs is read to indicate the beginning of a personal declaration. The right hand is drawn up breast high, but no staff is shown, possibly because it would have traversed the body.

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[1] It is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Cesnola Coll., No. 1904), and there are impressions in the Berlin Museum.

[2] *C.I.H.* (1906), pp. 12-15, and Pl. LII.

This stone was thought by Dr. Messerschmidt, who studied it closely,[1] to have been re-dressed and re-used in Hittite times. He argued that a large god-figure, wearing a dagger suspended from the shoulder, must have been originally the chief subject of the sculpture; and that this was partly effaced in Hittite times by the king, who had the stone re-worked and his own figure carved thereon. The inscription he regarded as pertaining to the larger figure; and he looked upon the mutilation of the figure of a god as the sign of a period of decline and degradation. This monument is unique in character, yet it must be said that there are several fundamental objections to the explanation which has been offered. In the first place, there is direct evidence on the face of the stone that the carving is all contemporary; for it is all in relief, and in accordance with precedent the background not sculptured must have been cut away, so that it would have been impossible subsequently to carve thereon a figure with the same relief as the older work. Added to this, it is clear that the inscription is arranged with due regard to the small figure, not the reverse. Also the ends of the inscribed bands are coterminous with the dagger, stamping the whole composition as contemporary. It must next be noted that no trace of a great figure is to be seen, nor can its form be conjectured, seeing that the dagger hangs on one side and the tassel on another, unless indeed the stone formed the lower portion of a somewhat angular statue,[1] about four times its present height. A figure in relief would have occupied part of two sides of the stone including the corner—an unprecedented complication in Hittite sculpture. The analogy quoted by Dr. Messerschmidt of the god-figure discovered in the excavations at Sinjerli breaks down at this point. That object was carved in the round, representing a deity standing in Hittite fashion upon a base composed of two standing lions, as on the monuments of Carchemish. He wears a dagger stuck into a belt, and with the trappings there is a large tassel of the kind seen on the fourth side in this instance. From these details Dr. Messerschmidt thought that the Marash monument only differed in that the dagger must have been worn suspended from the shoulder, on account of the pendent position of the belt. On all analogy, however, the priest-king in this case must be facing the deity he is worshipping. If then no other form of deity can be suggested, we must take the only evidence before us as to its nature, which would lead us to infer that it is here represented by the dagger and tassel. We venture an hypothesis in explanation: the Sacred Dirk [2] as a cult object is known in Hittite symbolism and familiar in the hieroglyphs; and it would be equally accordant with precedent to imagine that the dirk was really emblematic of the deity with whom it was usually associated. Alternatively the object of worship may have been a great divine statue upon the skirt of which these representations were carved.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 13. The original is at the Constantinople Museum (No. 1625).

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[1] Inspection of the object (in 1910) showed this to be the real explanation. We were confirmed also in our impression that the inscription and carving are contemporary with the original monument.

[2] See, for example, fig. No. 72 in the small gallery at Iasily Kaya, Pl. XXV.; also pp. 109, 117. For the tassel cf. Pl. XLIX.

Among the minor inscribed objects from Marash there should be mentioned one, which is a fragment of basalt ten and a half inches high and eight inches wide, inscribed with characters in high relief on two adjacent sides.[1] There are also several uninscribed sculptures from Marash of peculiar interest. The first is a slab of basalt twenty-one inches high, carved in relief.[2] The subject is that of a female seated at a table facing to the left; on her left knee[3] is a child, whose face is towards the mother. In the right hand of the woman is a decorated mirror, or something of that form; and in her left, which is extended over the table, she holds a primitive five-stringed lyre, square in shape.[4] Over the lyre is a bird often taken for a dove, but more nearly resembling a vulture.[5] The counterpart to the figure, if such existed, is broken away; the carving is crude and the surface worn. Such details as are distinguishable, the robe, the hat, the chair and table, seem to be similar respectively to those upon the sculpture of the ceremonial feast from this place previously described. There is a second uninscribed stone on which appears the emblem of a bird similar to the other in outline and appearance.[6] In this case two figures are shown, one on either side of a small two-legged table. That on the right, which is seated, wears the same cylindrical hat as in the cases just described; she is

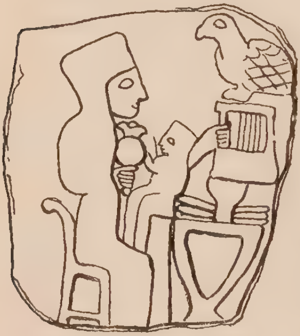

Fig. 19.

Relief on Slab, Marash.

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[1] *C.I.H.* (1900-4), p. 19; *ibid.* (1900-5), Pl. xxiv.

[2] Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen*, etc., Atlas, Pl. xlvii., No. 2; Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii. fig. 281. Metrop. Mus. of Art, New York, No. 1906. Our fig. 19.

[3] Thought by Perrot to be a high stool.

[4] Cf. the lyre held by an Asiatic immigrant into Egypt about 2000 B.C. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* (London, 1893), Pl. xxxi.

[5] As a cult object this bird provides a wide and interesting range of study. Cf. for example, an archaic Greek statue of the sixth century B.C., from Asia Minor, in the Berlin Museum (*Stehende Frau*), No. 1597.

[6] Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen*, etc., Atlas, Pl. xlvii., No. 4. There is a cast in the Berlin Museum, No. 61. Our fig. 20.

doubtless the Mother-goddess, as guardian of the dead. That on the left stands and is clad in a long robe, which, from such details as are visible, suggests the toga-like garment which distinguishes the priestly class on certain monuments of Asia Minor. The further hand of each is outstretched as usual, the one holding a mirror and the other the bird; the latter feature, however, is not carved with the same detail as in the case just quoted. Over the right shoulder of the standing figure there seems to hang a bow of the peculiar triangular form.[1] The cord, however, is not seen; and the stone is in general worn so smooth that little detail can be discerned. The bow reappears on a third uninscribed fragment, which probably resembled the former in subject somewhat closely. On this a figure is shown standing before a two-legged table, over which he holds aloft a curving bow with his extended left hand. In his right hand, which is kept low, there may be seen two arrows, while a quiver hangs at his waist. This stone is also very smooth-worn, but some details of dress may still be recognised, notably the skull-cap, long robe with fringe, a tassel attached to the waist-belt,[2] and turned-up shoes. The Hittite character of the theme is sustained by the arrangement of the hair, which falls away in a single thick cluster or curl behind the neck. This again seems to be a charac-

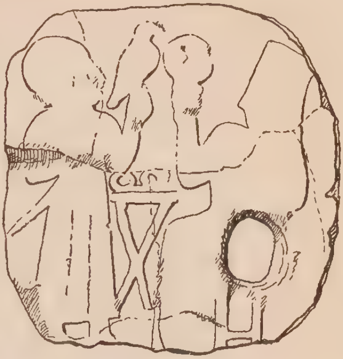
Fig. 20.
Votive Scene on Slab, Marash.

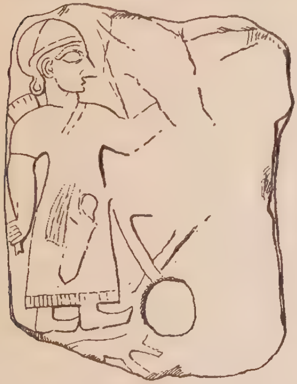
Fig. 21.
Relief on Slab, Marash.

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[1] *E.g.* at Kara-Bel, fig. 12; and at Hadji Bekli, fig. 45. Cf. also the scene of the storming of Dapur in the Ramesseum at Thebes: Lepsius, III. 156.

[2] A cast is in the Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum (No. 63, V.A.G.). Our fig. 21.

teristic funerary slab, though time has effaced the figure of this goddess.

A fourth stone of somewhat larger size, being thirty-five inches high, is decorated with a subject of unusual character, but unfortunately the most important figure of the scene is largely broken away.[1] This must have been a picture of a god, represented in long fringed robe, and sandals with upturned toes. Poised aloft in front of him, but how supported is not seen, there is the end of an implement or weapon, the attachment to which forms a loop, and then hangs down. A low table, with two curving legs, is placed opposite the middle height of this figure; upon it is a bird, seemingly a goose, with bread-cakes and other eatables. On the opposite side, and facing the major being, a small male figure stands at the same level as the table. He is clad in a short fringed tunic, with oblique fold, and a vest with short sleeves. On his feet are sandals, with the points very prominently upturned, and above these are anklets, unless these be long laces wrapped around the ankles to bind the sandals. His hair is curly on the head and bound by a fillet, while lower down it hangs more straightly as far as the shoulders. An earring is suggested, and thick bracelets are clearly shown. He holds an object in his left hand which may be taken for a palm leaf, while with the right he partly proffers towards the greater person a small cup which seems to be bound around with two small bands, as though made of wood. Below, in such space as remains available, the sculptor has added a horse led by a man. The animal is a stallion, represented with a vague suggestion of spirited movement in the forelegs; and his shoulder-muscles are shown in the same conventional outline as is seen sometimes on the representations of lions in this phase

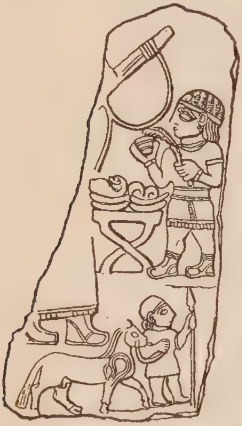

Fig. 22.
Relief, Marash.

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[1] Humann, etc., *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVII. 5; Perrot, etc., *op. cit.*, fig. 282. The original is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. 1905; and there is a cast in the Berlin Museum. Our fig. 22.

of art.[1] The man holds the bridle with his right hand; and, with his back to the horse, and indeed to the greater figure, he holds a spear upright with his left hand, the end of the shaft resting on the ground. He seems to wear a skull-cap, and his hair falls behind in the characteristic bunch or knot. In this case, as in nearly all the figures considered, the outline of the face shows the nose and forehead as practically continuous.

There are two further sculptured fragments of stones from Marash worthy also of special mention. On the one there is preserved the front part of a chariot and the hind part of a horse;[2] the carving is rough, and the drawing neither clear nor good. A small animal under the horse may be a dog. The wheel of the chariot seems to have had eight spokes. The driver is hardly seen, except for the forearm and the hand that grasps the reins. We may conclude none the less that the fragment formed part of a scene of the royal hunt.[3]

The other fragment is better known, showing the head of a musician playing the double pipes.[4] From the treatment of the hair and general character of the carving of this piece we suspect that it is of post-Hittite art, corresponding to the Aramaic period at Sinjerli. There is also in the Berlin Museum a piece in Hittite style which may very well come from the same place. It is about two feet high, and rather wider. The sculpture is fragmentary, but of striking interest, for the central figure, a man, seems to be riding on horseback. He grasps the bridle with his left hand, and holds a curving nameless object in the right. His legs and the body of the horse are not visible. In the background to the left there is the smaller figure of a female seated on a chair. She holds a pomegranate in her right hand, and raises a drinking-cup with the left. To the right of the man's head a tiny figure seems to represent the whisk-bearer, turning towards his lord, and waving a palm leaf.

This brings to an end the list of major monuments from

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[1] Pl. XLVI., and note the Phrygian lion, Pl. XIII.

[2] Humann and Puchstein, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVII. 1. Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum, No. 62.

[3] Cf. similar sculptures of Malatia, fig. 14; Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. XLVI.

[4] Original in Berlin Vorderas. Mus., No. 974; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 77, fig. 290.

Marash, most of which, with their developed hieroglyphic inscriptions, pertains probably to the post-Ḫattic epoch. When it is considered that these discoveries are mostly accidental, it must be admitted that there is evidence here of a Hittite city of exceptional importance, the earlier art and history of which will only come to light with the methodical excavation of the site.

SAMSAT, though somewhat distant upon the Euphrates, claims a definitely Hittite monument,[1] which in form recalls the funerary stela of Kara-burshlu; but as in this case a pedestal of diminishing thickness is preserved, and the inscription is likewise found upon the two sides of the stone, there is a further evidence in favour of its having stood alone. The subject of the sculpture carved upon the face is quite different, however, being only a single figure. So far as this can be seen (for a deep groove has been cut at some time down the length of the stone through the middle of the body), it seems to be that of a man turned to his right. He is clad in a long robe fringed at the bottom, and wearing shoes with the toes turned extravagantly upwards. He seems to be holding (with the right hand possibly) a staff, and more doubtfully a reversed lituus with the left, after the manner of the priests of Malatia, Boghaz-Keui and Eyuk. The inscription is incised, but it is not sufficiently well preserved to be copied with certitude. Nine rows of hieroglyphs are traceable at the one side and six upon the other, but nearly half of the stone is missing. It was found in the open, partly buried, between the town and the hill of the acropolis. Its height is just over five feet, without including the pedestal, so that the figure which stands clear of the bottom was about life size. The face of the stone is twenty-five inches wide, and the depth of the inscribed sides seventeen inches.

GERGER-KALESI lies almost at the main turn of the river, and there is to be seen upon the rocks a monument about which further details would be full of interest. From the published drawings[2] it resembles the Hittite reliefs of

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[1] Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nord Syrien* (Berlin, 1890), Atlas, Pl. XLIX., Nos. 1-3. Also Messerschmidt, *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XVII., and text, p. 14.

[2] Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen*, etc., p. 355, fig. 50. 'Felsrelief bei Gerger.'

Giaour-Kalesi and Kara-Bel in the west of the Hittite lands; and we await some further careful examination with expectation of finding Hittite hieroglyphs upon it. The figure is apparently gigantic, of three times human height. It is that of a warrior clad in short tunic (the details of which are doubtful). He wears a collar of some kind and a conical hat. There is a bow over the left shoulder; the right hand is down and forward. It simulates a Hittite monument very closely, and its presence on the brink of the eastern frontier of that people is the more full of interest.

CHAPTER IX

THREE CITIES OF NORTHERN SYRIA

Sinjerli—Sakje-Geuzi—Carchemish

From the passes of Taurus we descend to Northern Syria; and before proceeding to examine the distribution and character of the Hittite monuments in general, we select for special description three sites, namely Sinjerli and Sakje-Geuzi in the Afrîn Valley, and Carchemish upon the Euphrates. These places have been partly excavated; and just as at Boghaz-Keui we learnt to recognise the character of the distinctive Ḫattic monuments upon the plateau, we find among the ruins of these cities the criteria of Syro-Hittite art essential to the further consideration of our subject. We shall, however, be somewhat brief in our review; partly because the published records of these excavations fill several volumes replete with illustrations, and also for the reason that the remains uncovered pertain for the most part to the culture of Syrian states after the fall of the Ḫattic capital. Further excavation would undoubtedly throw light upon the earlier period of Hittite influence. That epoch is indeed already illuminated in a variety of ways, at Sinjerli by several early monuments, at Sakje-Geuzi by the depth and homogeneity of the deposits, and at Carchemish by the direct testimony of the Ḫattic archives; but we are not as yet in a position to judge the full effect of the Ḫattic overlordship of the area. The monuments recovered tell us none the less an instructive story of the development of the later phases of art and culture under the special conditions of local environment, and suffice to establish certain types by comparison with which it is possible to discriminate between them and the products of the imperial age found here and there in various parts of Syria.[1]

These three cities fall in two areas, defined, as previously in our study of the plateau, by different river systems. Sinjerli and Sakje-Geuzi lie not far from one another in the broad corridor bounded by the range of the AMANUS, the Giaour Dagh, on the west and the Kurt Dagh on the east. The northern end of this great passage is dominated by Marash, but to the south the valley on the one hand opens towards the plains of Aleppo, and on the other connects by way of the Beilan Pass with the Mediterranean coast. It is watered by two main streams, the Kara Su (or Black Stream) which flows south to join the ORONTES, and the Ak Su (or White Stream) which is a tributary of the PYRAMUS. The water-parting between these rivers is ill defined, for the ground is flat and has the character of a sultry plain, which as a consequence of neglect to-day abounds in reedy swamps and marshes, and has few inhabitants. But in antiquity it was populous, and numerous city mounds attest a prosperity which was proportioned to its advantageous situation, and its wide well-watered soil. In this area the mounds Sakje-Geuzi are found at the sources of the Kara Su, almost indeed at the divide, upon the eastern border, marking a line of route, still used, from CILICIA to Carchemish, which crossed the AMANUS range by the pass of Bogche and led on over a rocky path through the Kurt Dagh by Aintab. Sinjerli is stationed on the western side, somewhat further to the south, at the foot of a rocky descent from the mountains of AMANUS.[1] The situation of Carchemish is well known. It commanded throughout all ancient history a main crossing of the Euphrates, a watch-tower of the East.

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[1] These are described in ch. x.

(*a*) THE TOWN AND SCULPTURES OF SINJERLI

Excavations conducted during three seasons at Sinjerli by the German Orient Committee have thrown a flood of light upon the archaeology of Northern Syria.[2] They have also contributed a great series of monuments to our list of Hittite works; and the later history of the city and neighbourhood are further illuminated by the discovery of several inscribed monuments, which though late in date establish definite historical landmarks from which to work backwards in our argument. The monuments and architectural remains discovered belong to three main periods, which may be distinguished, terminologically, as the Hittite, Aramaean, and Phoenician. The monuments of the two later phases throw light upon the story of the post-Hittite occupation of the site: yet even in them the dominant feeling is derived from the Hittite prototypes.[1]

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[1] Followed to-day by the line of railway.

[2] Von Luschan and others: *Mitt. aus den Orient. Sammlungen*, xi., xii., and xiii.; *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, i., iv. (Berlin, 1893, 1898, 1907, 1911).

Many of the buildings, indeed a whole series of sculptures as well as historical documents, belong to the so-called Aramaean period. At this time the place was the seat of a principality identified with Samaal (or Samalla), which in the eighth century B.C. was ruled at different times by local

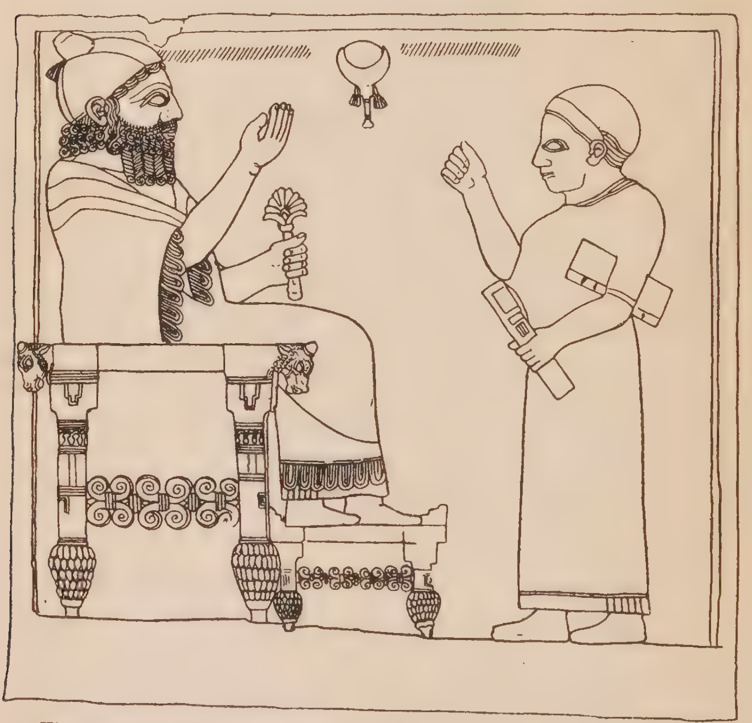

Fig. 23.—Barrekub of Samaal, Vassal of Tiglath-Pileser III. c. 730 B.C. (After Pottier, *L'Art Hittite.*)

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[1] Published under the same auspices, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iv.

kings, named Panammu and Barrekub, under the suzerainty of Assyria: and it was absorbed by the growing power of Assyria under Tiglath-Pileser III., as would appear from the name of Panammu, Prince of Samaal, amongst his tribute lists of 738 to 735 B.C. In the next century, 670 B.C., Esarhaddon seems to have made the place a temporary residence during his warfare with Egypt and with Tyre, and he set up there a stela recording victories that were probably imaginary, showing the kings of Egypt and of Tyre held captive by a cord.

The ruins unearthed in the course of these excavations disclose to us a walled citadel or acropolis, enclosing several palaces and other buildings, and surrounded upon the plain below by a double wall which marks the limits of the township. There was considerable difference of opinion, it would seem, amongst the excavators themselves as to the dates to be assigned to the various features of the site. It is well then to recognise that the ground for this difference of opinion existed in the insufficiency of dated materials. This is no criticism of the excavators themselves, who admirably conducted their pioneer work without the aid of established local criteria to help in solving the various minor problems which arise daily in the course of an excavation. One criticism which may be made is that no systematic record seems to have been kept of the finding of the pottery fragments such as might conceivably have helped to establish the relationship of one part of the site to another, and more particularly would have been serviceable in future excavations in the north of Syria, or indeed anywhere in Hittite lands. Such an investigation would certainly have been difficult, for numerous buildings were found to have been destroyed and reconstructed at various times.

The excavators seem to have been in agreement, however, as to the general growth of the site from a group of shepherds' huts into a walled town. They recognised three different building periods, the first of which may belong to the latter part of the second millennium B.C., when the site of the city was wholly confined to the mound which later became the citadel. In this village the houses were closely packed together, and their outer walls, being continuous and without windows, presented a line of defence around the knoll. The foundations of several houses were partly traced under the sites of the palaces of later times, and though marked as unimportant, these may really be the ruins of the chieftains' residences during the early Hittite period. The entrance to this citadel was to the south, but the excavators believed it had not yet assumed its final plan, nor had it yet been decorated with the sculptures that rendered it so remarkable at a later date.

The next great period is not clearly separated from the first, from which it may have been derived in our judgment by natural growth: it is characterised by the laying out of the whole city and township on much the same lines as it preserved through the succeeding centuries. During this phase there sprang up a wall surrounding the whole town-

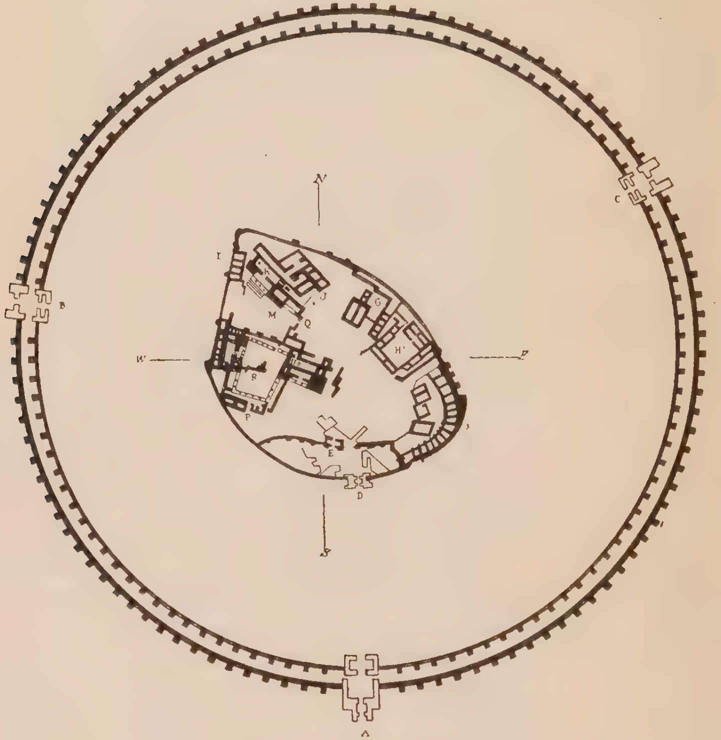

Fig. 24.—Plan of the Fortifications and Acropolis of Sinjerli. (After Von Luschan, *Sendschirli.*)

ship, an outer and inner defensive wall to the citadel, a cross-wall which seemed to have marked some period of renovation, as well as the foundations of an older palace and several other minor features of rearrangement. The buildings of this time are characterised by rows of timber with stone layers between. This phase must be dated in the opinion of the excavators to the twelfth century B.C., and it is noticeable that the Assyrian king, Tiglath-Pileser I., is found to have copied the plan of a Hittite palace (called *Ḫilani*),[1] which corresponds exactly with the plans of the palaces built upon the citadel during the next period.

The third phase is assigned to about the eighth century B.C. The city was now fully established. On its walls rose a hundred towers. The south gate of the citadel was finally built and adorned with sculptures like the older gateway of the city, but in more elaborate fashion. The corner-stones of the palaces were architectural lions, and their porticos were supported by columns placed upon the backs of sphinxes. Of these palaces there were three in chief, and they conformed to a standard type, which was distinguished by wing-towers on either side of the portico and approached by steps leading beyond to a hall around which were several chambers.[2] Thereafter, from about 750 B.C., a date which the documentary evidence supplies, houses sprang up between the palaces. There was a departure from the former strict type of the *Ḫilani*, to admit of greater accommodation, and the purely Hittite character of the buildings was greatly modified. The city seems to have been burned about 680 B.C., corresponding with the date of Esarhaddon's stela.

In the absence of more precise historical data, our interest is centred upon the several series of sculptures which adorned the gateways and palaces. Those which the excavators believe to be the oldest were found at the southern gateway of the city. The stones themselves are weathered, but the subjects upon them have been carefully studied and reproduced. They are carved in relief upon blocks of dolerite. The drawing is for the most part crude, but they illustrate for us the standard conventions in such Hittite works with some interesting variations. Being numerous, we shall confine ourselves to a brief description of the subjects, noting here and there details which help us in our comparative study.[1] Firstly, there is an eagle-headed winged creature with human body and limbs, clad in a short Hittite tunic, holding up both hands, and standing with his left foot advanced in the direction towards which he faces. Though no shoes are visible, the toes upon the sculpture are upturned in conformity with the Hittite pattern. A lock of hair descending by the side of the eagle's head ends in an outward curl, which is a mark of the earlier Hittite style. A tassel also hangs from the middle of the girdle. On another block the same figure appears with little modification. A third stone very crudely represents a horseman. He holds up with his left hand a mask, the features upon which resemble his own, being of the usual Hittite character, with straight nose and large eye seen in profile. He rides with his heels drawn up as though clutching the horse's side, for he has no stirrups. He is clad in a short tunic and short-sleeved vest, and upon his head there is the conical hat, though not so high as those now familiar in the sculptures of Boghaz-Keui, while the curling lock or pigtail is prominent behind his neck. By his left side there is suspended a long knife or dagger, and he holds with his right hand a diminutive looped object which may be intended for his bow. The drawing of the horse is even more crude. The head might be taken for that of a zebra, but in the treatment of the shoulder muscles and the haunches there is a certain obedience to the Hittite conventions. There is another stone on which a horseman is portrayed in a style which is very similar, but the details are almost obliterated.

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[1] Not much can be inferred from this fact, inasmuch as the Hittite palaces even of the Aramaean phase were probably based upon earlier models and of much the same plan. There are references to the *Ḫilani* in the time of Sargon.

[2] Compare the plan of the lower palace at Boghaz-Keui, fig. 3.

We then come to two monstrous mythological creatures, carved upon a single stone, the one above the other, to be imagined therefore as side by side. The lower one has the body of a lion on which the shoulder muscles are suggested, while the face is that of a human being, and the curling pigtail is clear behind the neck. The head-dress is a modification of the conical hat, with a sort of knob upon the top, and the brim is upturned in front and behind. One wing only is shown, being that upon the further side. The tail is upright, and ends in the head of a bird.[1] The upper monster is the same in all respects except the head, which is purely a product of the artist's imagination, though from the hooked bill it may be supposed to be intended for that of a bird. Both creatures are walking with the left forefoot advanced and in the air. Curiously, it is the right hind leg of the lower animal that is advanced, while the corresponding leg of the upper animal is behind. This monument is perhaps the crudest of the series.

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[1] Cf. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iii. Pl. XXXIV.

Upon the sixth block of stone there appear two male figures facing one another : each is clad in a long robe, the hem of which is visible ; each advances the further leg towards that of the other ; each grasps in his nearer hand a short staff, and with his further hand approaches a cup-like object to his lips. They are distinguished only in that the right-hand figure has a tassel[2] descending from his girdle. They seem to wear skull-caps, and the curling pigtail is seen on the left-hand figure, while the corresponding portion of the stone on the other side is broken away. The next sculpture is somewhat broader, and shows a hunting scene in which a bowman is seen in the act of discharging his arrow. He is clad in a very short fringed tunic ; the toes are upturned, and a pigtail curls away from his neck. A knife hangs, point forward, from the girdle on the further side, but the detail is obscure. Behind him, poised in the air head downwards, is an animal resembling a hare, which he may be supposed to have shot. His aim is probably directed, however, against a stag seen in the sculpture which precedes. This again is a drawing so crude as to be almost quaint. The animal stands with his head turned back towards his pursuer. An arrow has pierced his neck, and the barbs are visible beyond, while an ill-drawn dog is joining in the chase. In front of this again two other animals, represented upon a single stone, are obviously intended to suggest further quarry for the sport. The one is a stag, drawn in this case in full profile (including his antlers) ; while in the lower register there is seen a lion which, though it can be identified, lacks in the drawing any character that invites comment.

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[1] Compare the tail of the sphinx of Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. XLIX.

[2] Cf. a sculpture from Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. XLIX., and one from Marash, fig. 21. So also the eagle-headed monster described above.

A more interesting, though in part less ancient, series of sculptures decorated the main door of the citadel. This was placed at the southern bend of the wall, and, as it appears in its final form, resembled closely in general plan the gateways of the palace at Eyuk and of the citadel of Boghaz-Keui, which we have previously described.[1] The approach to this entrance is protected, as in those other cases, with wing-towers on either hand.[2] The width at this point of the entrance is about twelve yards, and the depth of these extra-mural towers before reaching the first doorway is six yards. The first doorway is met with almost in alignment with the contour of the wall. Its broad pilasters project eleven feet, leaving the space between them rather more; this was filled, as the excavators found reason to believe, by a double door. The space beyond—lying, that is to say, between the two doorways—forms a separate chamber the same width as the entrance and with a depth of sixteen feet, bounded on the inner or northern end by the pilasters which supported the second doorway. These are almost in alignmentwith the main inner walls of the entrance-towers, which thus have a total depth of fifty-five feet; their breadth is about ten yards. The main wall of the enclosure, to which they return on either side, has a thickness estimated at about fifteen feet.

The whole of the face of this entrance, both along the façade of the towers and around the bases of the pilasters, was decorated with sculptured slabs. The carving in all cases is in relief; the subjects represented are various, including deities, mythological creatures, and scenes of the chase, the treatment of which in many cases corresponds to the established Hittite motives. The date of this gateway is at least as early as, indeed in great part earlier than, the stela which Esarhaddon set up in the space between the two doors in 681 B.C. Indeed, the origin of the gateway was traced by the excavators to the second great building period, though its final structure and some of its decorations belong to the later phase. We may assume that its latest sculptures were the work of the eighth century B.C.

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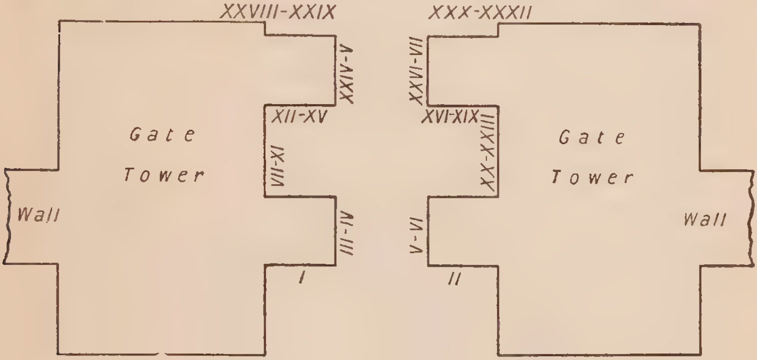
[1] See above, pp. 81 ff. and Pl. XVIII., and plan, fig. 1.

[2] *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, ii. p. 122 (Koldewey).

The sculptures in this case are so numerous that we find it convenient to attach numbers to them for reference. We begin with the outer approach to the gateway from the southern end, and describe the sculptures on each face of the wall east and west, before proceeding to the next return.[1]



SINJERLI: SKETCH PLAN OF THE GATEWAY, SHOWING BY NUMERALS THE POSITION OF THE SCULPTURES DESCRIBED IN THE TEXT.

At the approach of the doorway and facing south the series of sculptures begins on the left hand (to the west).

No. i. Two slabs upon which the subject of decoration is a horse and chariot. The general scheme recalls the chariots of Malatia and Sakje-Geuzi,[2] but there are about this one certain details unique in Hittite art, while other features previously difficult to explain are now made clear. The chariot is small and mounted upon a six-spoked wheel.[3] The two objects upon the panel of the chariot, crossing one another, are clearly in this case quivers to hold the arrows for the warrior who stands within. As in the other examples we have mentioned, a spear is placed with point upwards in the back of the car, and leaning backwards. Outside, on the back of the chariot, there is seen in profile the head of a small lion, an emblem probably of the royal rank of the owner. As elsewhere, there are two men standing inside,[4] and we see their features in this case more plainly because the driver is represented somewhat in advance of the other, who occupies the nearer part of the car, and in characteristic fashion is bending his bow with the arrow ready for its flight. This personage, although we must take him for the chief or prince of the city, wears the national Hittite dress, a short tunic belted at the waist, and a vest with short sleeves.

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[1] Corresponding in the main with the scheme of publication in *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iii. pp. 208-29, to which we refer in the footnotes in those cases where we do not reproduce the illustrations.

[2] Pl. XLVI. and fig. 14.

[3] *Op. cit.*, iii. Pl. XXXIX.

[4] It is to be remarked that Egyptian representations, *temp.* Ramses II., show the Hittites invariably three to the chariot: warrior, driver and shield-bearer. This refers uniquely, however, to war scenes.

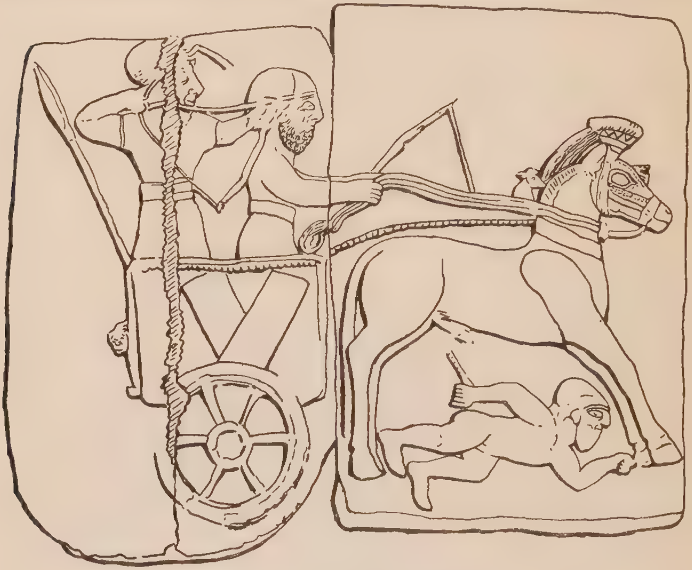

Fig. 25.—War Chariot, Slab Decoration from Sinjerli.

His head-dress is more peculiar, but unfortunately it is too weathered for much detail to be gathered : there may be seen, however, a curling lock of hair upon the near side, continuous possibly with a wig upon his head, and coming to an end behind the neck. The figure in the background is similarly clad, but on his head there is a plain cap which fits tightly to the skull. Both figures are bearded, but in the latter instance the ringlets of his beard are not trimmed square. He stands with his arms outstretched, holding two pairs of reins, which leads us to infer that a pair of horses is being driven, though, as in previous cases, only one is represented. This animal bears a jaunty trapping on his head, and just behind the neck (hence presumably an ornament upon the collar) there is an emblem which is taken by the excavators to resemble the head of a long-necked griffin. The trappings of the horse are plainly defined and resemble a halter firmly fixed behind the ears, though possibly from the position of the reins a bit also is employed. This point, however, is not certain. The drawing of the animal as usual is crude; it obeys certain ordinary rules in that the muscles of the shoulder and the haunch are shown in outline. Unique, however, in Hittite representations is the picture of a man prostrate between the fore and hind legs of the animal and pierced by two arrows, obviously shot by the warrior in the car. With one hand the victim tries to pluck an arrow from his thigh. The picture is almost a counterpart to those so familiar upon the walls of Egyptian temples, in which the Pharaoh may be seen slaying with his arrows his fleeing Hittite enemies. Here, however, it is not a foreign enemy that is represented. The prostrate man conforms in general character to the North Syrian type, such as may be seen even in the charioteer within the car. He is apparently without clothing except for his cap, which is close-fitting; the curl of hair behind his neck is shown in outline, and even the toes of his shoeless feet are represented by the habit of the sculptor as being upturned.

No. ii. The corresponding sculpture on the opposite face of this entrance—that is to say, on the eastern side, but still facing south, is the upright figure of a warrior armed with spear and shield as well as the customary long dagger or sword.[1] He faces in the same direction as the chariot, namely, towards his left, looking therefore away from the gateway,—in itself an indication that the stone has been re-used. The warrior stands with his left foot and left arm advanced; his body and face shown in profile, and his shoulders in full view, in obedience to the ordinary conventions of Oriental art. He is dressed in the familiar short tunic which is fringed at the bottom, and the overlap of the garment is seen falling obliquely in front; the upper part of his body is lightly covered with a short-sleeved vest. A broad girdle passes around the waist, and the long dagger hanging from his left side seems to have a special attachment which passes over the right shoulder. His head-dress is the conical hat of the Hittite peoples with the brim upturned, but with the top expanding like a ball. On his feet are shoes the points of which are extravagantly upturned, while around the ankles there is a suggestion of ornaments or of attachments for binding on the shoes.[1] The features of the man, though conventional, are represented with boldness. The long straight nose in line with the forehead is drawn with deliberation. From the chin there falls a square-cut beard, and a moustache also is represented. The eye is shown in full profile, and is also too large in proportion. The conventional lock of hair, like the survival of a pigtail, falling from the crown of the head, ends in a broad curl behind the neck. The shield which he holds up is obviously intended to be of the figure-of-eight shape,[2] though the perspective of the picture has given the artist trouble. The spear, which he holds transversely with the point down, is longer than himself. The shaft is not drawn straight, possibly suggesting the natural shape of the branch of a tree. The blade is long and pointed, with indication of a midrib. His short weapon is probably a dagger, though represented of such length that it might also be a sword. The hilt is crescent-shaped [3] with a notch on either side of the handle,[4] and is doubtless enclosed in a sheath; the midrib is well defined along its entire length.

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[1] See Pl. XLIV. 2, reproduced by courtesy of the late Dr. Messerschmidt. Cf. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iii. Pl. XL.

From the outer face we pass to the sculptures which decorate the flanking walls of the pilasters in the first doorway.

No. iii. The decoration on the left, facing therefore to the east, comprises two subjects: the one a large lion, which occupies two slabs, with its head upon the corner-stone,[5] and the other a monstrous creature holding up a rabbit. The lion [6] faces to the left, looking out therefore

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[1] As the band is in each case doubled, it does not seem probable that this is merely the detail of an upper part to the shoe. Cf. the monument of Ivrîz, Pl. XXXIV.

[2] Compare the shield of the Hittite warrior shown on the north wall of the temple of Ramses II. at Abydos, Egypt; above, Pl. II.

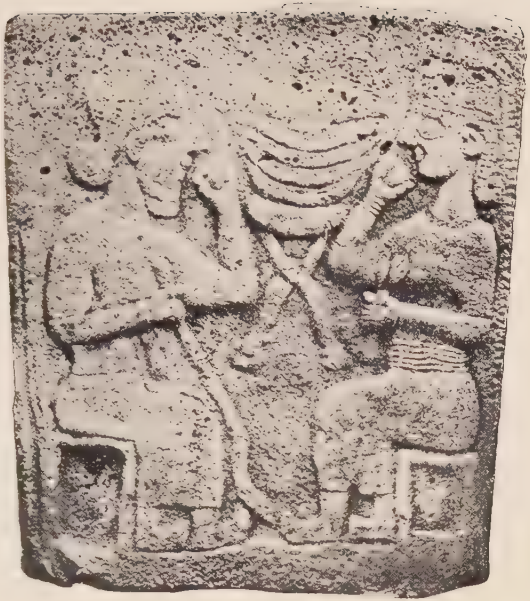
[3] Compare Pls. XXIV., XLIV.

[4] Compare Pl. XLIX.

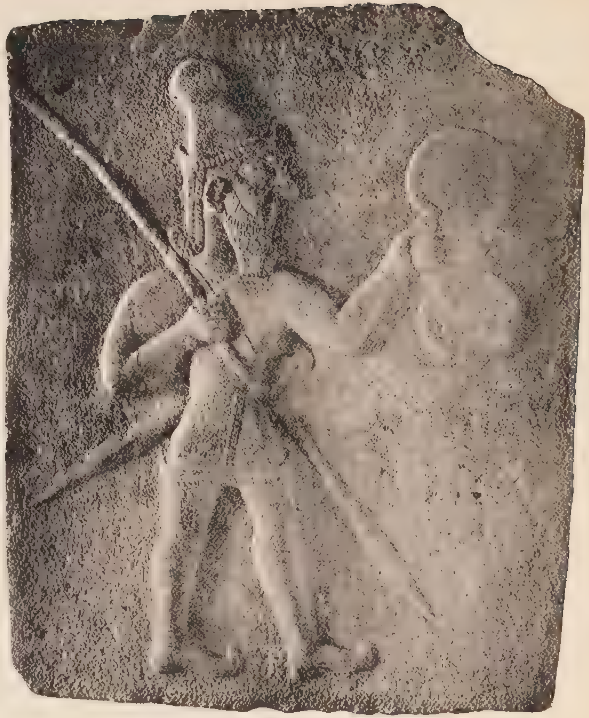
[5] But not projecting beyond it as with the lions of Eyuk, p. 139, and Marash, Pl. XLIII., Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. XLVII.: compare the lion reliefs of Angora, p. 145.

[6] *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iii. Pl. XLIV. (ii).

PLATE XLIV



1. CEREMONIAL FEAST (p. 250).



2. WARRIOR (p. 247).

SCULPTURES FROM SINJERLI.

from the gateway. The picture is poorly drawn; there is no vigour and little life in the animal, and the artist's conventions are exaggerated so as to be no longer artistic. The beast's mouth is open. His further legs are advanced, and his tail falls between the two hind legs as in the standard types. The shoulder muscles are shown by a border line, which reaches in a broad curve to the back of his neck, and a collar, whether of hair or not, is suggested behind the ears. The claws are curved and prolonged so as to be ridiculous. The body, which is found on the second stone, is elongated and narrow, and hardly seems to fit on to the heavy forequarters.

No. iv. The monstrous figure which is his companion faces to the right. It is called by the excavators the 'god of the chase.' His body is that of a human being, clad in a short tunic, vest, and upturning shoes; while his head is that of a lion, with wide-open mouth and long exaggerated neck. A slender dagger hangs from his left side. With his outstretched left arm he holds up a rabbit by the back legs; while borne upon that hand there is a bird, which cannot be readily described, though its hooked beak suggests a vulture or a falcon. The right arm is held aloft behind the head, wielding some short curving implement like a throwing-stick, and behind that there is seen another bird with open beak.

Nos. v.-vi. The counterpart to these representations, on the opposite side of the doorway, is practically a repetition of the subject just described, only that in this case both creatures face to the right, looking out from the doorway. The leader is a lion represented even more crudely than in the last instance, and with no further instructive detail; while the only variation in the upright monster that follows is in the position of the two birds, which in the former instance were seen upon his hands, and are now perched upon his arms.

No. vii. We now come to the inner wall of the chamber, which is found between the doorways. We commence as before on the left-hand side with the sculptures that face to the east, continuing subsequently with those on the return facing south. The first part comprises five sculptured blocks.[1] The first of these is the picture of a man facing left, clad in a short tunic and upturned shoes. He wears a close skull-cap, and behind this the Hittite curl is represented. His beard is long and square-cut. His arms are held aloft, and he bears a kid upon his shoulders, the head of which is turned as though looking backwards.

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[1] For Nos. vii.-xv. see *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iii. Pl. XXXVII.

No. viii. The next block is filled with the scene of a ceremonial feast.[1] Two figures, clearly man and woman, are seated facing one another on opposite sides of a low table filled with provisions. The man is on the left, and his seat is a square-framed chair, with high back. He wears a close round skull-cap, and the Hittite lock falls behind his neck. He is represented with both beard and moustache; his nose is prominent and straight. His dress is a long robe reaching to his ankles, and the toes of his shoes are upturned as usual. His right arm is by his side and holds a long crooked staff, while with his left he is raising some object to his mouth. The figure opposite presents several differences. Her hat is cylindrical, and is covered with a long slender wavy object reaching down behind her back almost to the ground; this may be taken for a veil pushed back from before the face. Her dress also is a long robe, and her girdle, like that worn by the man, is broad, and composed of six or more strands, as of cord. Her hair is dressed in the usual curling lock or pigtail. Her features are sharp, but not so prominent as in her counterpart. Like him, with her right hand she holds up some object towards her mouth, and in her left hand, which is by her side, she holds two seemingly edible objects on stalks. She has bracelets on both her wrists. Her seat is a low stool, which, in contrast to that of the man, is seemingly without a back. For want of space the table between them is set back from the picture. Only two legs are seen, and these are curved as usual. The top of the table also is curved downwards, suggesting that it was round; so too are the provisions piled upon it, which cannot, however, be identified.[2] We have previously described several sculptures of like kind, some of which are clearly tombstones. The closest analogy to the present instance is that from Malatia,[3] and here as there we take the subject to be the royal pair at a banquet. In spite of the incongruous scenes around, the religious origin of this class of sculpture seems to be perpetuated in the priestly dress in which the male figure is clad.

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[1] See Pl. XLIV. 1.

[2] Cf. pp. 107, 225.

[3] P. 199 f.

No. ix. Upon the next stone there are two figures represented, both facing to the left. The leader is smaller than the other. He is clad in the usual Hittite fashion, with short tunic and skull-cap. His long, straight nose, and the curl of hair, are equally characteristic. His left arm is by his side, and his right, which is seen only in outline, is advanced, but no further details are distinguishable. The figure which follows him, facing in the same direction, is somewhat taller. He is clad differently, his dress being a long robe reaching to his ankles and ending in a fringe. The usual belt, with upper and lower border-lines, encircles the waist. The sleeves are short, and the toes of the shoes upturned. In place of a hat he clearly wears a wig, from which the Hittite curl descends behind his neck. His beard is long and conventional, and he is apparently without moustache. His nose is straight and exaggerated in length, and the features are poorly drawn. His right hand is extended, but the left is drawn back, holding a long curving object, which rests on and reaches beyond his left shoulder. He wears also a dagger on the further side of his belt.

No. x. A third man follows upon the next stone, clad like the foregoing in a long robe, which however is not fringed. This is an interesting figure, for in the place of upturned shoes he clearly wears sandals,[1] the straps of which may be traced. His head-dress too is different. Whereas in the sculpture which precedes him the hair or wig is arranged in conventional concentric bands and curls, or short plaits, the cap worn by this man is covered with plain ribs passing over from one side to the other. The Hittite curl descends, however, behind the neck, and the beard, though receding, is conventionally represented. The face of this man is striking, even though the drawing is ill done. The long nose in line with the forehead is represented more deliberately than in any other instance. The chin is receding, and the lips, though thin, are prominent and protruding. From his belt there hangs a tassel, which may be seen to consist of a loop and two loose ends, like a loop of cord doubled. Among other distinguishing features, a dagger with crescent hilt is held in his left hand, while his right hand outstretched holds an upright staff.[1]

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[1] Compare a sculpture from Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. XLIX.

No. xi. The stone which follows is small, and the figure upon it faces to the right. It is the representation of an archer with bent bow. He is shown with all the common features of male attire—the tunic, turned-up shoes, skull-cap, curl, girdle, and dagger. He stands upon his left leg with the right knee bent, in the act of shooting. This stone which is set upon another below it, in order to raise it to the required height, brings the inner wall of this recess to an end. The adjoining wall advances eastward, and consists of five stones decorated with four subjects.

Nos. xii.-xiii. A stag facing to the right occupies the first two stones. It is badly drawn. The head and neck are utterly mis-shaped; the conventions of animal representations are exaggerated, and a lifeless picture is the result. It is preceded on the third stone by a kid looking backwards, the carving of which is perhaps more successful, though still displaying little artistic feeling or application. The muscles are outlined in the usual fashion.

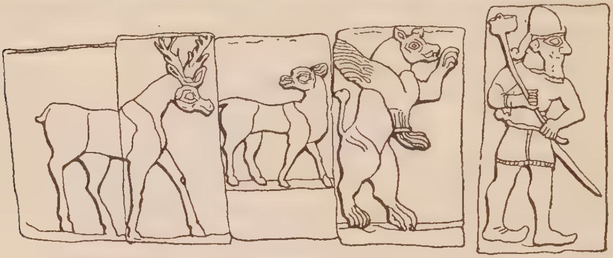
No. xii. No. xiii. No. xiv. No. xv.

Fig. 26.—Decorated Building Stones, Sinjerli.

No. xiv. A different picture, better drawn and better carved, fills the whole height of the stone which follows. The subject here is a winged lion rampant, whose left paw claws the air, while the right paw is depressed. A wing rises from his near shoulder and passes behind the neck. The tail is erect behind the back, ending in a stiff curl. The muscles of his haunches are suggested with some vitality, but the claws are exaggerated.

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[1] For a photograph of the sculptures ix.-xv., *in situ*, see Sayce, *The Hittites*, S.P.C.K., p. 70.

No. xv. The next stone brings this series to an end, the corner having been rearranged in antiquity by the inclusion of a pedestal. Upon the face we are considering there is the figure of a man carrying over his right shoulder what seems to be a large double-headed stone hammer, or a double axe. He is clad in a short tunic, fringed, shoes with upturned toes, and a skull-cap so high as to be almost conical. The Hittite curl is prominent behind his neck; the strong nose may be traced, and a square-cut beard falls from his chin. He is armed also with a long dagger shown with the hilt behind the girdle and the blade or sheath projecting forwards. His legs are bare as usual, and his figure is perhaps unusually powerful and muscular.

No. xvi. On the eastern side of this recess, the wall corresponding to that which we have just described [1] is similarly adorned with four sculptured blocks, whereof the first is a repetition in detail of that which we have last described, and needs little further description. There may be noticed, however, two slight variations in the treatment of the subject. Firstly, the dagger is now suspended in the usual fashion, with the hilt shown in front of the body; and the headgear seems to be higher, more like the conical hat of the Hittites, with expanding top.[2] It may be noted also that the double axe or hammer is somewhat broader and shorter, and is marked with four short lateral lines, while the long handle is somewhat bent as though formed of the branch of a tree. This handle he grasps with both hands, the left one holding the end. There is an error of drawing in the delineation of the left hand; for though the left elbow is advanced and the hand drawn back towards the body, the palm of that hand is turned outwards, while the thumb is uppermost, and the fingers are also represented in full, pressing into the palm, instead of being shown as knuckles in front of the handle. This is an error of a kind not uncommon in Oriental drawing.

No. xvii. The next block of stone is larger than the others, bearing two figures upon it, both facing as in the previous case to the observer's right. In front there is a winged sphinx walking, followed by a warrior with spear and shield in much the same style as that which we have previously described.[1] In this case the figure is so small and the surface of the stone so much decayed that no new details can be added, but with the exception of the dagger or sword, all the features of the earlier stone seem to be suggested. The upturned brim of the hat in front is perhaps more prominent. The sphinx is an interesting representation. The body is that of a lion, and the face, which is somewhat delicate, is that of a human being. A wing rises from behind the shoulder, sloping backwards. The muscles of the animal are shown in outline, and the claws or talons are exaggerated as usual. The tail is erect in the air and seems to end in the head of a bird,[2] though possibly this appearance is illusory. The face is beardless and of clear-cut Hittite type; the headdress is a skull-cap with brim, the front peak of which is turned upwards. A double plait falls from under it behind the head, turning upwards behind the neck and completely round, forming a prominent curl. A second double plait of hair seems to fall from behind the ear, in front of the breast of the animal, and halfway to the ground, where it ends in a curl. The delineation of the wing is unusual, the curving ribs being drawn together in the middle towards the upper part, as though that were a new starting-point for a series of feathers.

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[1] This wall, it will be borne in mind, faces to the south, being the inner wall of the inner pilaster. For the sculptures xvi.-xxxii., see *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iii. Pl. XXXVIII.

[2] Our Pl. XLV. 2.

No. xviii. Another monstrous figure precedes the sphinx, in this case a griffin, with the body of a lion and the head of an eagle. A wing rises from the junction of the long neck and the body; the muscles are shown in outline; the head is ill drawn, and provided with ears; the tail hangs down behind the body. A double plait falling from behind the right ear of the animal, as in the previous case, ends in a curl to the left part of the breast. The drawing, on the whole, is lacking in spirit and vitality.

No. xix. The last sculpture in this length of wall seems to represent a man, but the carving has not been carried out in detail, and except that he is facing to his right, with both arms held backwards, the outline of his figure conveys little other suggestion than the ordinary Hittite type. The wall now turns parallel with the opposite face, running

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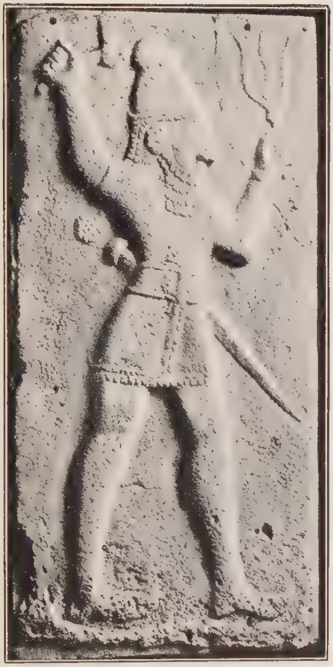
[1] Pl. xliv. 2.

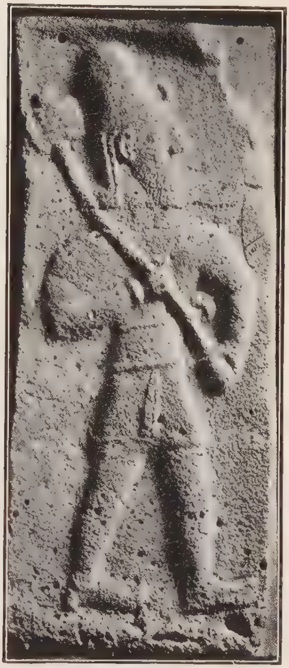
[2] Compare the sphinx from Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. xlix.

To face p. 254.

PLATE XLV



1. TESHUB, THE STORM-GOD, WITH LIGHTNING-TRIDENT AND THUNDER-HAMMER.
See p. 255, *No. xxii.*



2. GOD OF THE DOUBLE AXE (*cf.* THE SCULPTURES OF BOGHAZ-KEUI, PL. XXII.).
See p. 253, *No. xv.*

SINJERLI: DADO RELIEFS.

north and south, the sculptures therefore facing westward. There are four of these ;[1] all face towards the right, as in the previous section.

No. xx. The first is an upright monstrous figure with depressed wings ; the body is that of a man, the head that of an eagle. His dress is a short tunic. His arms are raised aloft as in adoration. Behind the ear, with which the bird's head is adorned as in the last instance, there falls a similar double plait, ending in a curl upon the throat.[2]

No. xxi. In front there is a worn representation of a seated figure, in which little detail can be discerned. The head-dress seems to be cylindrical in form, with a long veil falling as usual behind. A curling lock of hair is suggested beside the neck of the figure. The right arm is held up by the side. The chair is low and square shaped, and its high back ends in an outward curl. The general appearance of this stone bears such a marked contrast to the sharp carving of those on either side of it, that it seems probable that it was already old when the doorway was constructed in its present form, and that it formed at one time the left-hand part of a ceremonial feast similar to that which we previously described (No. viii.), to which it would thus form the counterpart.[3]

No. xxii. It is preceded by a splendid sculpture of the Hittite Storm-god Teshub.[4] He wears the characteristic short tunic and upturned shoes of the Hittite people. His head-dress is the tall conical hat with expanding top His beard is long, square-cut, and depicted as usual in successive bands of short curls or plaits. The nose is long and straight, and the eyes are large. A long curling plait of hair, resembling a pigtail, falls behind his neck and shoulder, and is seen below the right elbow, which is held up. A long dagger with crescental hilt and the midrib clearly shown, is slung from the farther side of the belt, the handle backwards. In his left hand he holds up an emblem, like a three-pronged trident, representing, it is supposed, forked lightning, while in his right hand he wields aloft an axe-hammer with short handle, to which it is bound by threads.

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[1] In *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iii. Pl. XXXVIII., at the top, these sculptures are aligned artificially with others for the photograph.

[2] Cf. the eagle-headed deity at Sakje-Geuzi, below, Pl. XLVII.

[3] On the general question of rearrangement of these sculptures, see below, p. 260.

[4] Our Pl. XLV. 1. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, ii. Pl. XLI. (i).

No. xxiii. The next sculpture fills one side of the corner-stone. It is the representation of a woman, and though broken at the top several new features may be discerned in it, while other details are more plainly seen than in cases previously described. Her dress is a long robe reaching to the ankles, bound at the waist with a rope-girdle of six strands. This garment seems to be wrapped round the body, joining down the right side, where it is fringed or bordered in some way. Behind the figure there is the suggestion of a long veil or cloak, which, from the numerous serrations in the drawing, may also have been fringed or embroidered. The top of the hat is not clear, but the front peak is turned upwards. A double plait and curl are seen as usual behind the neck, and a necklace also is shown. In her right hand she seems to grasp something like a feather, while with her left hand she holds up a round mirror, with handle.[1] The drawing of the right hand, which is in front of the body, exhibits the same fault as we indicated in a recent instance, where, with thumb upwards, the palm of the hand is also turned outwards—an impossible position.

We have now reached the return of the wall, on the inner side of the pilaster to the outer gateway. This, like the corresponding wall on the opposite side to the left, was left blank, probably because it did not strike the eye of any one entering the gateway, and it was also in comparative darkness to any one going out. We proceed then to describe the remaining sculptures decorating the pilasters of the inner doorway, and, in the first place, those which flank the position of the doorway on either side. The corresponding walls of the outer doorway were decorated with representations of lions facing outwards.

Nos. xxiv.-xxv. In this case bulls form the leading motive of the decoration: on the left hand two stones are filled with a representation of this animal.[2] The drawing, as in the case of the lions, is too much elongated, and the sculptor has not carried out his work with realism, obeying only established conventions. The horns of the animal are both drawn forward ; his shoulder muscles are shown in exaggerated outline, and just above his hoof on each leg there seems to be a ring or ornament of some kind. The third block of stone bears a new design, being that of a rider facing in the same direction. The horse is small and ill-drawn ; the trappings seem to be somewhat like a halter, as in the case of the chariot horses, and the rider holds a pair of reins or ropes, both of which pass on the near side of the neck. No saddle or stirrup is visible. The features of the man are not clearly preserved. His head-dress, however, is plainly the simple conical helmet or hat, and the Hittite curl may be seen falling behind. Upon his left arm, and covering his body from our view, there is borne a large round shield. Rising from behind his back, at a level with his shoulder, is an object which may be taken for a large quiver.

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[1] Cf. the sculptures of Marash, p. 224 f., and of Boghaz-Keui, p. 99. Pl. xxiv., Nos. 6, 7, 8.

[2] *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iii. Pl. xliv.

Nos. xxvi.-xxvii. Corresponding to these sculptures on the opposite side, the right-hand flanking wall to the inner doorway is decorated by a similar representation of a bull, facing outwards, and occupying two stones, and of a man on the left-hand side who faces in the opposite direction. The latter representation (No. xxvii.) is new. The man stands, it is evident, with his back to the animal, and probably the two subjects are distinct. He is clad in a long-fringed skirt and vest with short sleeves. A close-fitting skull-cap and the Hittite shoes complete his costume. His beard projects somewhat forward, and the Hittite lock is seen behind his neck. A long dagger or sword hangs from behind his girdle, the handle forward. He carries two objects which seem to be similar to one another, resembling clubs in outline. In his right hand he holds out one of these, which he grasps just above the level of his head ; in his left hand, however, he holds the other at the end of the handle which rests in a natural way upon his left shoulder.

Nos. xxviii.-xxix. There remain the sculptures which decorate the inner frontage-wall of this doorway, that is, the first wall confronting any one passing out from the citadel. On the right hand, the nearest sculptures are a pair of deer drawn only in outline, one upon each of two blocks of stone. The animals are turned towards one another, but the nearer one is looking backwards, so that both their faces are looking towards the entrance. On the opposite side, that is to the east, there are three sculptures on separate blocks of stone.

No. xxx. Of these three the first,[1] which is carved on the same block as the man with clubs (No. xxvii.) just described, is a complex monstrous figure. The body is apparently that of a lion, with mouth open and tail erect.

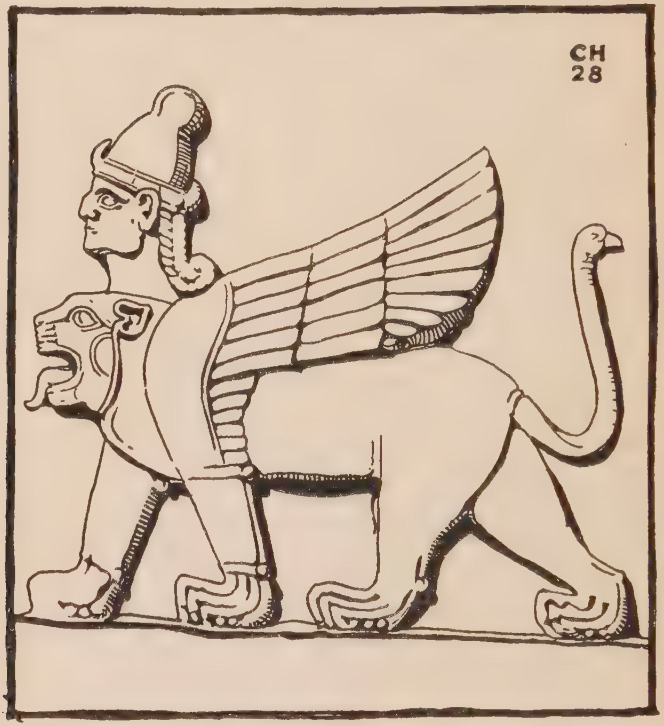

Fig. 27.—Winged Lion-Sphinx, Sinjerli.

A wing rises from behind the shoulder, and in the drawing is continuous with the conventional outline of the shoulder muscles. Upon the neck there rises the head of a human being wearing the close skull-cap, the front brim of which upturns. The features are those familiar in the preceding sculptures, and the Hittite curl behind the neck is not omitted. A broad band, decorated in three rows, is shown around the neck. It is unfortunate that the stone shows signs of weathering, and little detail can be made out, for the representation is unique; and though the drawing is crude, it is not altogether inelegant.

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[1] *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iii., Pl. xliii. No. 1.

No. xxxi. The next stone is not decorated, but upon the second from the corner is the picture of a warrior, with shield and spear similar to those two previously described (Nos. iii. and xvii.). The only detail which may be added is the appearance of a tassel hanging from the peak of his conical hat.

No. xxxii. After a similar interval there appears the last sculpture of this wall, in which, though much weathered and hardly traceable, we seem to see the picture of a hunter holding up a rabbit with his left hand and brandishing a long spear in his right. He seems to wear a tall helmet, but other details are obscure.

Having now completed a survey of the sculptures decorating the inner walls of this entrance on either side of the doorway, we pass outside, where there were found several interesting carvings which seem to have decorated the outer flanking walls, and were seen therefore in approaching the entrance to the citadel from the south. On the right-hand side, that nearest the corner was decorated with an animal figure now no longer visible, while on a small stone (No. xxxiii.) placed above it there seems to be the picture of a dog, which is equally destroyed. The next four, however, are more plain.

No. xxxiv. The first is the picture of a musician seated upon a stool. He wears a long skirt with waistband, but the details of his dress and features call for no special comment. The instrument which he plays, however, is of interest, being [1] 'a Tambur of pronounced Assyrian type, exactly similar to one of the time of Assur-nazir-pal,' *cir.* 880 B.C.[2] There is a cord for attachment to the shoulder. It has been suggested, alternatively, that an instrument like a harp seen from the side is intended; the position of the musician's hands, however, does not support this view, as with his left he clasps the stem of the instrument which he plays [3] with his right. On a small stone placed above this one there is the outline of an eagle or vulture.[4]

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[1] Letter from Miss K. Schlesinger, October 4, 1909.

[2] In the Camp Scene, Brit. Mus.

[3] Cf. the musicians of Eyuk, Pl. xxx.

[4] Cf. the sculpture of Marash, fig. 20.

No. xxxv. The sculpture on the next stone shows a man who seems to be in relation to the musician towards whom he is turned. His dress is a short skirt, and he seems to have worn, in addition to the upturned shoes, some prominent ornament around his ankle. The hat is close-fitting and ribbed laterally. The beard and curl are as usual. His left arm is bent, and with his fingers he seems to touch his beard ; the right hand is obliterated.

Nos. xxxvi.-xxxvii. The last two sculptures of this side may be taken together, for they represent the familiar Oriental scene of a pair of goats standing upon their hind legs and nibbling the upper green shoots of a shrub.

The left-hand flanking wall to the approach of this main gateway seems to have been destroyed previous to excavation, and no sculptures are on record to form the counterpart to the group last described. In our description we have endeavoured to record the actual find-spot of each stone, but we are convinced, from an examination of the original monuments, and of the excavators' photographs, that very few of them were found in the positions for which they were originally intended. Their varying sizes, the medley and lack of sequence of the subjects they represent, all contribute to support this point of view. Nor do we share with the excavators the opinion that all the sculptures of the outer gate of the town, which we described first, are necessarily older than those of the gate of the citadel ; the former are more weathered, for they have been more exposed, and the latter are not, in our opinion, all contemporary with one another. We can distinguish three or four groups of subjects, which were probably ranged together, as at Eyuk and Sakje-Geuzi. Among these are the procession of mythological creatures and representations of the deities (possibly the king himself impersonating the gods [1]), the scenes of the chase, the musicians, and the ceremonial feast, all of which appear for the most part to be intermingled haphazard. This mixture is clear evidence of re-use and re-arrangement of the older sculptures. Some of these, possibly all those first described, seem to correspond in motive and treatment with the earliest work of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk, of the fifteenth century B.C., before the Ḫattic styles had become distinct, and hence represent an indigenous Hittite art. Next follows a series in which there is a noticeable infiltration of Ḫattic influence (*e.g.* our Nos. i., ii., vii., xv., xvi., xxii.),[1] while others again seem to reflect the re-submergence of these types to local or extraneous influence. These conclusions, based on style and motive only, are fully accordant with the known history of the Ḫattic penetration in the fourteenth century B.C., and subsequent developments; and they agree, moreover, with the excavators' own observations as to the development of the site. The rearrangement may be due to one of the later restorations of the city, such as the local documents show must have been not infrequent, and possibly to the preparation of the buildings as a summer palace for Esarhaddon in the seventh century B.C.

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[1] Compare the features of the warrior, Pl. XLIV. 2, with the god-figures, Pl. XLV.

We defer any general consideration of the later sculptures as the two cities we shall next describe produced further remarkable examples of this phase of art. There were found, however, several further sculptures of special interest, including two pairs of massive lions which must have served as corner-jambs of doorways, like those of Sakje-Geuzi.[2] In this case, however, the lions are of enormous size. One pair is carved only in outline, while the work of the other is carried out in detail of admirable quality. Most striking of all, however, are two stone busts in relief, found near to the lions last mentioned.[3] Here we are face to face with that remarkable facial type and head-dress which characterises the sphinxes of Eyuk.[4] The stones are much weathered, but there can be little doubt, from the front and profile views which have been published, that they are each decorated with the bust and head of a woman. There can be distinguished the roundness of face, the high cheek-bones, the band across the forehead, the curving wig over the head, and finally (but faintly) the outward curl of the ends of the wig on each side of the throat, which are plain on the sculptures of Eyuk. The Sphinx-bases constitute another series of striking sculptures the character of which will become apparent in the description of the palace-portico at Sakje-Geuzi which follows.

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[1] Figs. 25, 26, and Pl. XLIV.

[2] Below, Pl. XLVIII.; and *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iii. Pls. XLVI., XLVII.

[3] *Op. cit.*, iii. p. 236 (with figs. 142, 143, 144, 145), where they are ascribed to Byzantine origins.

[4] Pl. XXVIII.

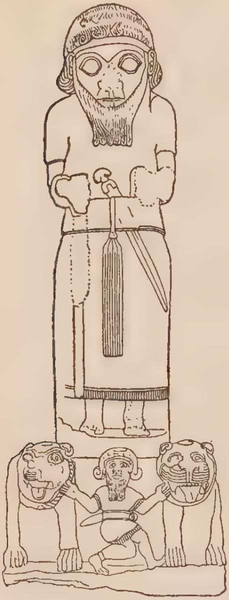

Fig. 28.
Statue on Lion Base.
(*After Pottier, fig.* 101.)

There is one of this class, however, which calls for special mention. In this the sphinxes are replaced by lions,[1] and between their fore-parts there appears the figure of a man carved in relief. He is in a crouching attitude, dictated probably by the small space at the sculptor's disposal; his hands are stretched out to the collars of lions on either side; his face is shown in full, with square-cut ridged beard, and a curl of hair prominent on either side of his head, attached clearly to a wig. His dress is a short, fringed tunic and short-sleeved vest; a belt is round his waist, to which a dagger is attached. His legs are turned towards his left; upon his feet there seem to be bands or anklets, possibly to bind on his footgear. Though no shoe is visible, the toes are prominently upturned. It is a striking object. The rim of the drum is not decorated in any way, but on the top there is a large square-cut socket, corresponding to the tongue upon the bottom of the statue, which is here shown fitted into its place.

(*b*) The Mounds and Palace-enclosure at Sakje-Geuzi

We have already described the situation of the neighbouring site of Sakje-Geuzi.[2] Its importance as a royal centre was indicated long before our own investigations, by a monument which was removed to Berlin [3] some years ago from the walls of the Konak, or chief's house, in the village. This consists of three sculptured stones, obviously part of a mural decoration, but forming in themselves a complete group. The subject depicted is a royal lion hunt.[1] The king or priest dynast is marked out by a winged disc near to his head; he rides in a two-horsed chariot, which is driven by a companion. The horses, like the men, are clad in mail; jaunty tassels hang from their sides and shoulders. The car is small and seemingly open at the back; a quiver for arrows is hung upon each side, as well as an implement which seems like a javelin. The tires of the wheels are thick, and there are eight spokes. The two figures standing within the chariot are clad exactly alike, in long mail robes with short sleeves that do not reach the elbow. Both are without other headgear than their copious hair or wig, which is arranged in long parallel curls over the head; their beards also are dressed in pendent curls in the Assyrian style. The face of the warrior is partly hidden by that of the driver, but the visible characteristics are the same. The eye is rendered in full, while the somewhat aquiline nose and prominent lips are in profile. The similarity of these two figures is somewhat striking; possibly, on the Egyptian analogy, it is the king's son who drives. He holds the reins in his two hands, a pair in each, while in his right he seems to grasp also a short-stocked whip. The figure seen partly behind, which we take for the monarch, is portrayed in the act of shooting. The short bow is drawn to the back of the neck, and the middle part of the weapon, held by the outstretched left hand, together with the long point of the arrow, is seen protruding from before the face of the nearer figure. His quarry is a noble lion which is seen immediately in front of the chariot horses. A third figure in the background here intervenes, being partly hidden by the forelegs of the horses and the hind parts of the lion. He is clad only in a short tunic from the waist; the garment has apparently a seam vertically down the front, and the fold, which is fringed or bordered, falls transversely over the right thigh. His feet are shod in sandals.[2] The face of this person is not well preserved, but his hair is short and very curly. In his right hand an implement resembling a double axe is poised aloft, while with his left he still grasps a spear, the point of which protrudes from the near flank of the lion. Presumably he is a god, intervening in aid of the royal hunter. The beast itself is shown also in profile ; the tail with bushy tip is down ; the mane and ruffle are depicted, and the hair is shown full behind the shoulder and under the belly.[1] The mouth is open, with the teeth all bared, and the left paw is upraised with the claws turned outwards, both actions threatening a fourth person who with face turned towards the group completes the scene. With both hands this man drives home a spear into the skull or left shoulder of the animal. He is clad like the riders in the chariot in a long suit of mail, with short sleeves. In this case the lower part of the garment may be seen, which in the others is hidden by the side of the chariot : it is cut away from above the knees, though falling behind nearly to the ankles. There is a belt around the waist as before ; the sandals have flat soles, while toe-piece and ankle-strap are clearly delineated. The head-dress of this person is peculiarly interesting. While perpetuating the form of the conical hat it seems to look more clearly like a helmet. This may, however, be an illusion, as there is a border around the brow, and the appearance of a turnover fold which reaches down the side from the peak. Over the back of the animal, between the spears of the two standing figures, there appear four rosettes of twelve petals each ; while the upper and lower borders of the stones are decorated also with a pattern composed of contiguous concentric circles. The height of these slabs is nearly four feet, which accords with the measure of other stones of similar character and decoration found upon this site.[2] Together these form a series of pronounced Assyrian feeling, and are probably of later date[3] than the palace-portico recently unearthed. However that may be, the nature of the monument indicated the existence in this neighbourhood of a royal seat ; and this was located by our excavations in one of the smaller mounds of the vicinity not far from the present village headquarters where this isolated sculpture

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[1] Constantinople Mus., No. 1519. *Ausgr. in Sendschirli*, iii. Pl. xlvii.

[2] P. 237. Cf. *Liv. A.A.*, i. (1908), pp. 97-117 and Pls. xxxiii.-xlix.

[3] Vorderasiat. Mus., No. 971.

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[1] Pl. XLVI.; cf. also Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nord Syrien* (Berlin, 1890): Atlas, Pl. XLVI. Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii. p. 64, and fig. 279.

[2] Cf. the similar composition of another sculpture from the same site, *Liv. A.A.*, i. (1908), Pl. XV., fig. 2.

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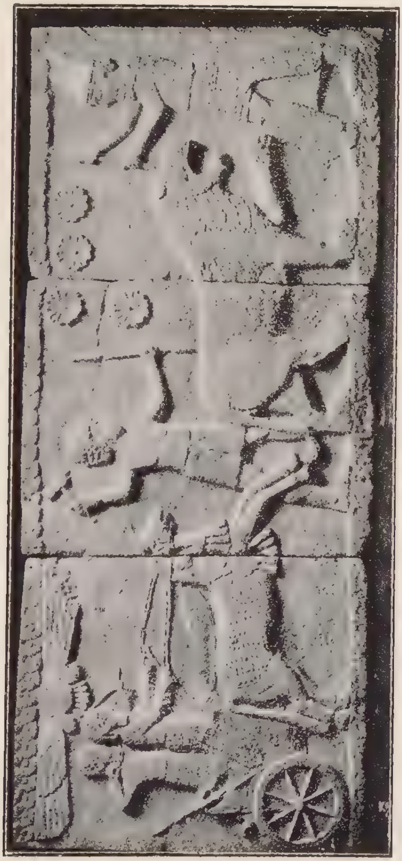
[1] Cf. the lion of Marash, Pl. XLIII., and the newly-found lion of Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. XLVIII.

[2] Cf. *Liv. A.A.*, i. (1908), Pls. XXXIV. 2, XXXV. 2.

[3] Attributed by Puchstein, *Pseudo-hethitische Kunst* (Berlin, 1890), to the age of Sargon.

To face p. 264. PLATE XLVI



SAKJE-GEUZI : ROYAL HUNTING SCENE.

Date probably 9th or 8th century B.C.

was recovered. Soundings made in the other mounds have made it clear that their nature is similar, and their growth collateral: in all probability they contain inscribed and sculptured monuments, the careful uncovering of which would contribute new pages, if not volumes, to our knowledge of Oriental history. So far as excavation has proceeded on this site, it has been sufficient to determine the nature and plan of the main fortifications of the royal enclosure, and to disclose within the walls the portico of a palace decorated with a frieze of sculptured slabs in their original positions and in fresh unweathered state. It is also demonstrated that here, at any rate, long ages of local development preceded the period which these striking monuments have rendered more conspicuous, though historically not more important. In the story of the decline and fall of the Hittite power, however, nothing could be more interesting than these sculptured monuments, with the increasing signs of Assyrian influence upon them, and the study of them becomes endowed with wider significance by comparison with those elsewhere. Not only can we measure, by the local differences and similarities to be seen in the works of Sinjerli and Sakje-Geuzi, the depth to which Assyrian feeling had already permeated the Hittite arts in the early centuries of the first millennium B.C., but by comparing these again with those of Eyuk, we may realise how far certain features of architecture and religious symbolism were originally Hittite, and though here modified by close contact with the all-absorbing Assyrian power, remained on the farther side of the Taurus free from recognisable intrusion to the end.

In the small mound (Jobba Eyuk) excavated at Sakje-Geuzi, the form of the enclosure was found to be practically rectangular, enclosing an area about four hundred feet long and three hundred feet wide.[1] A slight modification in form seems to have been made, either at the time of building the whole wall or later, where the north-western wall skirts the steep edge of the mound as it approaches the northern corner. The gateway was found on the lower side of the mound opposite to the Palace, and though much denuded it preserved indications, both in its foundations and in loose fragments of sculpture, of having been decorated with a

[1] See the plan, fig. 29, on the next page.

sculptured dado, of which the famous lion-hunt scene once formed a part. The main wall was built of small stones revetted together by stouter facing blocks; these, though laid approximately in courses, were fitted together without much shaping and without mortar, as in Beuyuk Kaleh at Boghaz-Keui, and in the fortifications of Sinjerli. The wall was supported by external buttresses or mural towers, about thirteen feet wide, and projecting about three feet;

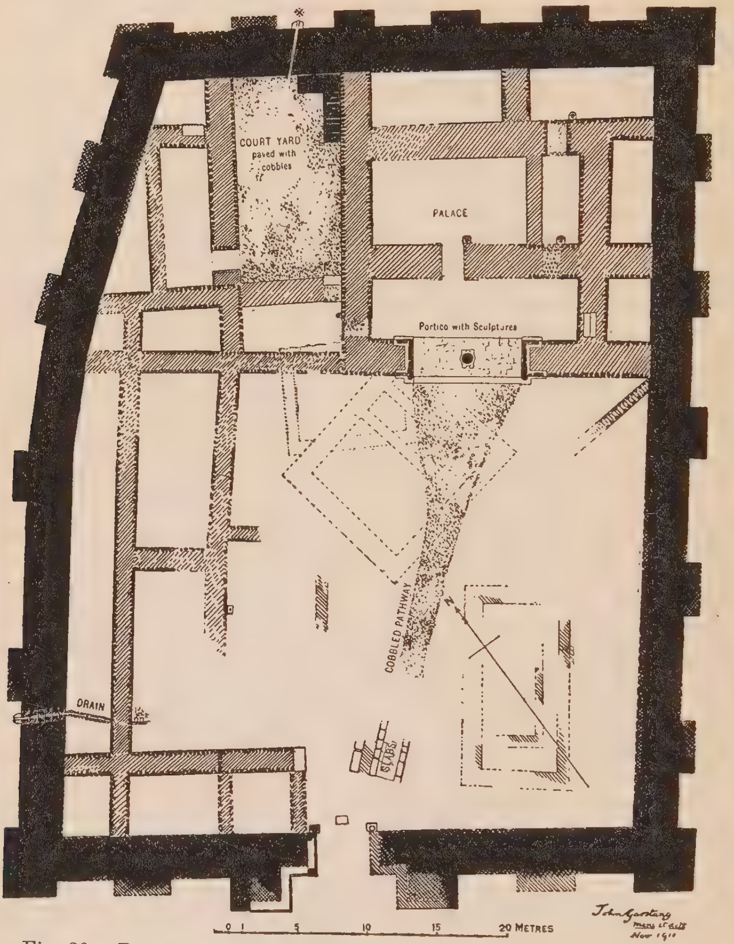

COURT YARD
paved with
cobbles
PALACE
Portico with Sculptures
COBBLED PATHWAY
N
DRAIN
SLABS
0 1 5 10 15 20 METRES
John Garstang
Mens et delt
Nov 1911

Fig. 29.—Plan of Royal Enclosure and Palace, Sakje-Geuzi.

these occur at intervals which decrease considerably around the steeper edge of the mound. The corners were similarly strengthened by rectangular turrets of the same projection. The wall was nearly twelve feet thick, and its foundations were proportionately deep and massive, as though destined to sustain a height of twenty feet or more, of which some thirteen feet remained preserved where the soil was deepest. The lowest courses of the foundations were built of large stones, another feature reminiscent of Beuyuk Kaleh.[1]

Within the enclosure a series of superposed buildings on the higher ground gave token of successive ages of occupation, and partially covered the site of a palace, which was found at a depth of seven or eight feet below the surface, and covered an area of about a hundred feet by eighty. The details of the portico and the sculptures which adorned its façade show that it was generally similar to the chief Hittite palace (of Aramaic times) at Sinjerli, which was still in use in the eighth century B.C. Probably most of the construction had been made in unburnt brick, which had largely been reduced to mud, leaving, as usual, little trace of original arrangement; but the sculptured slabs which had adorned the entrance remained standing in position, and enabled the plan of the building to be traced. The entrance, which was double, was supported in the middle by a round column,[2] flanked on either hand by a square wing-tower. It was approached by two broad steps reaching from side to side, leading up to a platform paved with large flagstones. This formed the main threshold, twenty-four feet in width and seven feet in depth. The pavement was continuous in the wings only far enough to serve as foundations for the facing slabs of the corner towers: the ornamental pedestal just mentioned was also set upon it.

The main feature of the scheme of decoration[3] is found in two life-size and realistic representations of lions, one on either side, guarding as it were the entrance to the building of which they formed the corner-stones. The forequarters and heads of the animals are carved in the round, and project beyond the frontage of the wall, while the body and hindquarters are in high relief, being continuous with the other sculptures that adorn the flanking walls. In detail of execution these beasts are fashioned after the models already familiar from earlier descriptions.[1] The forepaws are side by side and slightly advanced; the further hind leg is advanced, and the tail droops down and forward, ending in a curl between the feet. The mane is full, with a ruffle round the throat, and the hair is specially thick upon the shoulders and below the belly, as in other instances. That which is striking about these and, indeed, the other sculptures of this series, is their sharpness and preservation, which enables us to look upon them with renewed interest and refreshment, especially after contemplation of the weathered reliefs from which Hittite art has previously been almost wholly known and judged. Though 'provincial work,' the snarling defiant realism of these lions has never been surpassed in any specimen of Oriental art. Architecturally, it has been noticed, they formed the corner-stones of the building, and the line of the front wall is indicated by the stops across the dressed horizontal surface of the stone above their backs, upon which they must have seemed to bear the chief weight of the towers, if not of the door-jambs themselves. The blocks out of which they were carved were proportionately more massive than the other stones of the series, in order to bear a superimposed weight as well as to enable the forepart of the animals to be represented in the round.

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[1] Cf. p. 87.

[2] Only the base or pedestal of the column was preserved, and the excavators found reason to believe that, after the destruction of the building, it had served some other purpose, as possibly an altar; see below, p. 274.

[3] See Pls. XLVII., XLVIII.

The subjects depicted on the slabs adjoining the lions, both those by the side along the frontage and those which immediately follow along the flanking walls of the portico, were reproduced in duplicate on either side. The nearest, along the side, shows in each case an eagle-headed winged deity with human body (a familiar Assyrian design); he stands erect, with bare feet, facing towards the lion; he proffers with the extended further hand a seed, and carries a basket in the near hand, which is held up with elbow bent. His dress is a plain skirt reaching hardly to the knees. The muscles of the legs are shown with some amount of detail.

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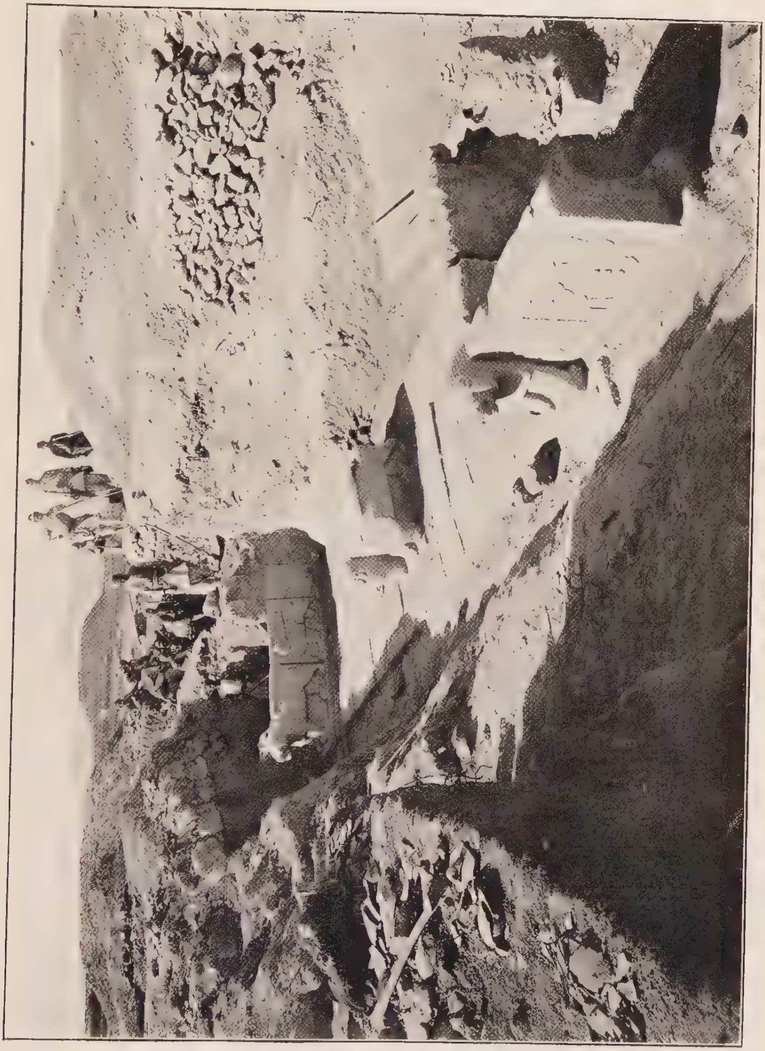
[1] See Pls. XLVIII., XLIX.; and compare the lions of Marash (Pl. XLIII.), of Eyuk (p. 139), and of Sinjerli (p. 261). Also of Boghaz-Keui, Pl. I and p. 85.

PLATE XLVII



SAKJE-GEUZI: ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE, WITH SCULPTURES *in situ*.

The wings are four in number, of which one pair rise up from the shoulders, while the others are depressed. The head-dress ends upon the shoulder in a conspicuous curling plait. The next slab is much wider, but the height remains the same, namely about three feet. On this two figures, standing and facing towards one another, are represented in the act of fertilising the sacred tree. The further hand of each holds a seed aloft, while the near one grasps a curving knife with upturning blade. The tree is shown conventionally with three pairs of curling branches, while the stem (but not the foliage) suggests the scaly date-palm.[1] The figures are clad alike, in a short skirt reaching just to the knee, covered by a sleeveless cloak cut away in front and falling behind to the ankles. The lower part is fringed. Their hats are like the fez of modern times, with a knob in the middle on the top (in the Assyrian fashion) and a horn upon the sides. Their feet seem (but not clearly) to be shod with shoes with upturning toes. The features, beard and hair, are in a conventional Assyrian style. Above the figures, and reaching from side to side of the slab, is the emblem consisting of a winged rosette and crescent. There are twelve petals to the rosette, and the crescent is immediately below it : in these two features we may have a prototype of the star and crescent of the Turkish peoples.[2] The legs of the bird [3] survive in the composition of this emblem only as decorative features, and the talons give place to outward curves or circles, like those seen on the head-dress of the sphinxes at Eyuk.[4] From these, slender pistillate objects, with divided or cup-like ends, hang down to touch the seeds within the uplifted hands of the men. Other objects like cords, but undefined, hang down from the same place, falling behind their wrists. It is suggested that possibly the fertilisation of the pistil is the subject of the scene. However that may be, we notice that, as in the previous case, the muscles of the arms and legs are strongly shown ; the figures, too, are stolid, and the drawing, treatment, and subject are alike strongly Assyrian in feeling, with the exception of the peculiar and distinctive feature of the rosette and crescent. This representation completes the series of sculptures decorating the frontage of the palace, but there are others flanking the entrance on either side. Of these the lion corner-stones come first, and the details of these we have already examined.

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[1] Compare the treatment of the mounds upon which stands the priest-dynast in the sculptures of Iasily Kaya, No. 22 R., fig. 6.

[2] On the subject of this emblem, cf. Ridgeway, 'The Origin of the Turkish Crescent,' *Jour. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxviii., ii. (1908), p. 241.

[3] Cf. the double eagles of Iasily Kaya and Eyuk, Pl. XXIV. and pp. 105, 143.

[4] Cf. Pl. XXVIII.

The lions are followed on each side by representations of winged sphinxes, the two sculptures, as in the other cases examined, being practically duplicates of one another. The creatures may be supposed to have the body of a lion, though the general pose is stiff, and the position of the front legs even suggests a bird, corresponding to the wings above ; the further details of the monster, however, do not bear out this suggestion. The treatment of the head and details of this sculpture again fails to suggest anything distinctively Hittite, but only here and there the survival of Hittite feeling and tradition. This art reflects clearly a Semitic influence, such as was illustrated with more completeness in the excavations of Sinjerli. The first criterion is to be found in the treatment of the hair, which falls all around the back of the head in ringlets, and does not curl backward in a single bunch, in the fashion characteristic of the Hittite figures of Marash, Carchemish, and Bor. The beard is treated in similar fashion, while upon the cheeks it is represented by little coils or concentric circles. The features of the man are also much softer and less pronounced than those with which we are familiar in Hittite works of Asia Minor. The head-dress is a sort of helmet, a close-fitting rounded hat with a knob on the top. The wings of this creature are folded by the side, extending beyond the tail, and the whole of the breast is covered as it were with down. The hindquarters of the animal are strongly delineated, and the treatment here certainly suggests a lion's body. The tail is held aloft and comes to an end in the shape of a bird's head, but whether of a swan or goose is not clear. Though we fail to comprehend the full meaning of the symbolism involved in this detail, it is full of interesting suggestions.[1] This feature is found on each

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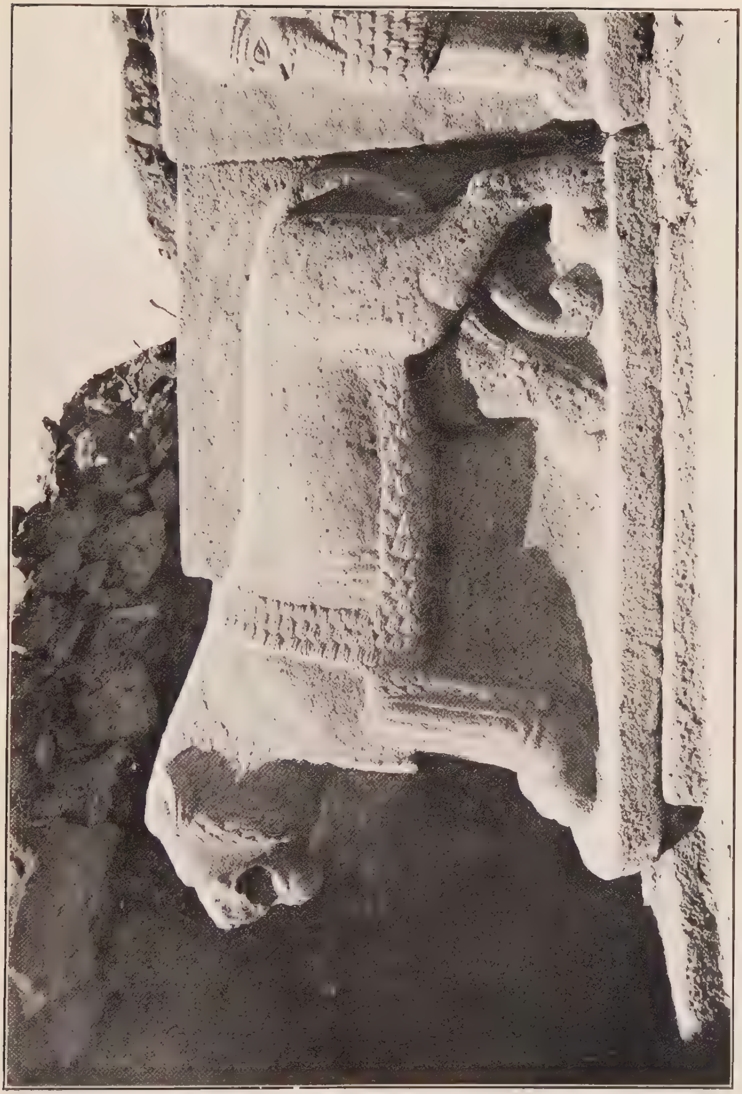
[1] In the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology there is a small stela of Egyptian work dating from about the twenty-eighth dynasty, on which a

To face p. 270.

PLATE XLVIII



SAKJE-GEUZI : LION CORNER-STONE (LEFT SIDE OF PALACE ENTRANCE).

sphinx; and there may also be traced, more clearly on the right than on the left, the design of a horn upon the helmet. On the right-hand side the series of sculptures now terminates, the corner having been disarranged at some time. Two or three loose slabs, with traces of sculpture upon them, were found in the neighbourhood, and obviously had completed the decoration of the inner corner. The sculptures seem to represent men, two of them clad in long robes with fringed border, and a third presumably clad in a short tunic. On one of the former, the figure is preserved below the shoulders, and there may be seen the outline of a long dagger, or knife, in its sheath, with a fringed tassel[1] probably in attachment with its handle. Owing to the condition of the stone, it cannot be seen whether this tassel was attached to a girdle or whether it was independent; nor indeed is it clear that it hangs actually from the handle of the dirk. The other stones of this corner are too much weathered and broken for further instructive details to be made out with certainty.

Upon the left-hand side, however, the series is complete, and remains in good condition in its original position. Following the sphinx there comes the figure of a man who, from his position, is the most important human being of the series, and must be deemed therefore to be the priest-dynast of the locality. The figure itself faces naturally to our left, following the direction of the leading sculptures, looking, that is, towards the outside of the palace. In the treatment of this sculpture there is revealed an interesting mixture of original Hittite motive with the change brought about, as we suppose, by Semitic infusion. The robe in which he is clad is a survival of the toga so familiar in the sculptures of Asia Minor.[2] The loose folds pass from behind over the right shoulder and are clasped by his left hand. The garment seems to hang quite loosely, and numerous folds in it are shown, following the direction in which it is wrapped around him. The sleeves of the undervest may also be seen, coming to an end as usual at the elbow. His

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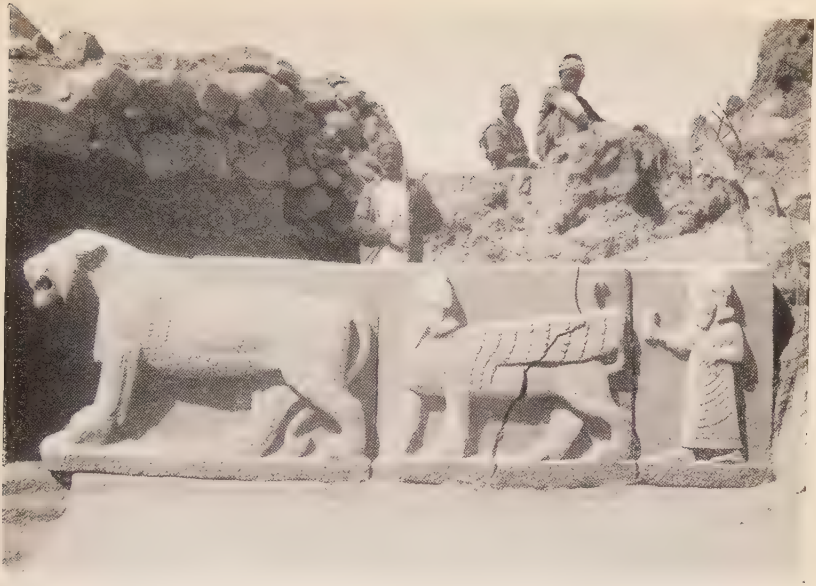
standing sphinx is portrayed; the tail of this creature is made to represent the head of a cobra. Compare also a sculpture from Sinjerli, p. 254.

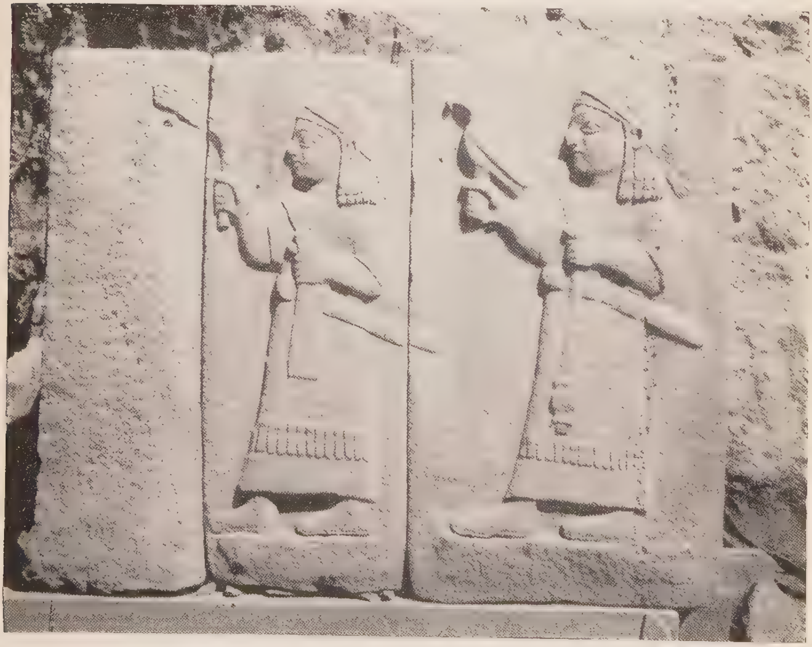
[1] Cf. the tassel and dirk upon the stone discovered at Marash.

[2] Especially in representations of the priesthood. Cf. Boghaz-Keui, (fig. 6), Eyuk (fig. 8), etc.

feet are shod with sandals, and there are large bracelets upon his wrists. His hair is dressed in a series of wavy curls, arranged from side to side across the top of the head, and bound by a narrow fillet, which is decorated at intervals with concentric circles. The features of this personage are crudely represented : the eye is shown in full, and exaggerated in size ; the nose, in contradistinction to the usual Hittite representations, is small and almost Mongoloid ; the lips are heavy. The beard, both upon the cheek and where it hangs freely, is in the style illustrated by the sphinx figure which precedes, but the hair obeys the older convention to a certain extent, being bunched together behind the neck and curling backwards. In his right hand the priest-king holds out something like a cup with a long stem, the precise nature of which is not evident. It can hardly be thought that he is offering to either of the creatures that precede him, inasmuch as they are facing away from him. It seems more likely, from the sculptures which follow, that he is simply refreshing himself with wine. The series is continued, but not upon the same face of the wall ; for the stone upon which the priest-king is carved proved to be the corner-stone, marking the return of the inner wall of the wing-tower on that side. On this inner wall two further sculptures are found on two separate slabs. With these the series comes to an end, though it is not clear that the actual corner of the tower is indicated by this discontinuity. Both figures are those of men : both are carved with noticeable skill, and remarkably preserved. They seem to be attendants in the palace or personal servants of the king, for they are clad alike and carry in their hands objects for the king's use. Their dress is a long robe with a fringe-like band some little way above the hem. Their feet are shod with sandals, the toes of which are slightly upturned. They wear no ornaments, and round their heads there is only a plain fillet ending in a fringed bow. Both stand facing to their right, following their leader, with their right feet advanced, their right arms extended, and the left arms held up by the side of the body. The first of them holds up in his right hand what seems to be a fly-whisk, while with his left he holds a pendent object like a piece of leather or ribbon ending in a fringe. This probably explains the representation on the corresponding stone on the opposite side, and



1. SCULPTURES DECORATING LEFT-HAND FLANKING WALL.



2. SCULPTURES ON THE RETURN WALL CONTINUING THE SERIES.

SAKJE-GEUZI: SCULPTURES OF THE PALACE PORTICO.

it is significant that it seems to have no connection with the dagger, which is suspended from his waist by an attachment passing over the right shoulder. It is interesting to note also that this stone seems to have been carved *in situ*, for part of the whisk is found upon the corner-stone which precedes it, while the end of the dagger is found in like manner on the stone which follows. The second figure holds aloft a bird carved like a vulture, but from its size and the general nature of the subject it must be taken for a falcon.[1] In his left hand the falconer holds the 'lure,' a sling, to which there was generally attached a bell or similar object, to be thrown after the bird to attract it to return. This person also carries a dagger, suspended in like manner by an attachment which passes over the right shoulder, and is connected with the sheath appropriately at two points. The handle of this dagger is peculiar, suggesting a small notch in the metal between the hilt and the blade.

There remains to be mentioned one striking sculptured object, placed, as we have mentioned, in the middle of the portico between the wing-towers, and clearly defined as the base of an architectural column to support the doorway. The design, in brief, suggests that the weight of the drum was borne upon the backs of two sphinxes standing side by side. All round the top edge the pedestal is decorated with a design of numerous fingers placed side by side, the nails upwards; a similar object was found, as we have seen, at Sinjerli, upon which this detail also was clear. The rest of the sculpture is more simple, but equally striking, not merely from the nature of the design, but from the beautiful quality of its execution. The body of each sphinx seems to be that of an elongated lion. Two paws are seen in front, three from the side and two from behind, so that we have a new convention illustrated, which seems to be peculiar to Hittite art. It recalls that of Assyrian art, but nevertheless differs essentially. In both cases such animals are represented with five legs, in order to give a realistic effect to each of the three points of view. But in Assyrian art the front leg on the remote side would have been repeated in the side view; whereas here it is the hind leg which is duplicated. The human portrait upon this animal is remarkable, recalling to a striking degree the head of the sphinx at Eyuk, and to a certain extent the portrait statue of the Egyptian queen Nefret, to which we have alluded.[1] It seems without doubt to represent a female. The face is full, the lips are firm and somewhat severe, the eyes are hollowed as for the reception of inlaid precious stones. The hair hangs in two ringlets on either side, between which the ear can be seen. Upon the head there is placed a close-fitting wig, or head-dress of that character, made, as we may suspect, of plaited hair or of fine ropework, the strands of which run from front to back. It ends with the shoulders in a triple border, and is decorated on either side of the head with horn-like emblems.[2]

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[1] The treatment of this bird is very similar to that on the small monument from Marash, p. 230, illustrated in Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, Pl. XLVII. fig. 2; and Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii. p. 68, fig. 2, and p. 181. It is interesting to compare it also with the bird sculptured on an archaic statue from Asia Minor of the sixth century B.C., Berlin Museum, No. 1577, *Stehende Frau.*

As in the case of the sphinx upon the flanking wall, the breast of this creature is covered with down as though partaking of the scheme completed by the wings, which as in the former case are folded by the side. These cover the upper half of the body only, below which the belly and hindquarters of the animal may be seen, strongly though somewhat conventionally delineated. As in the former cases of lion sculptures there is copious hair under the belly, which in this instance recurs also behind the forepaws and on the hindquarters. The tail descends between the hind legs, curling forward towards the ground, where with a short backward curl its bushy end may be traced. The two sphinxes are similar in all respects to one another, but the head of one was found to have been broken away. The whole composition of this sculpture is so complex that it may be readily believed that it was not designed from an architectural point of view alone, as the mere support for

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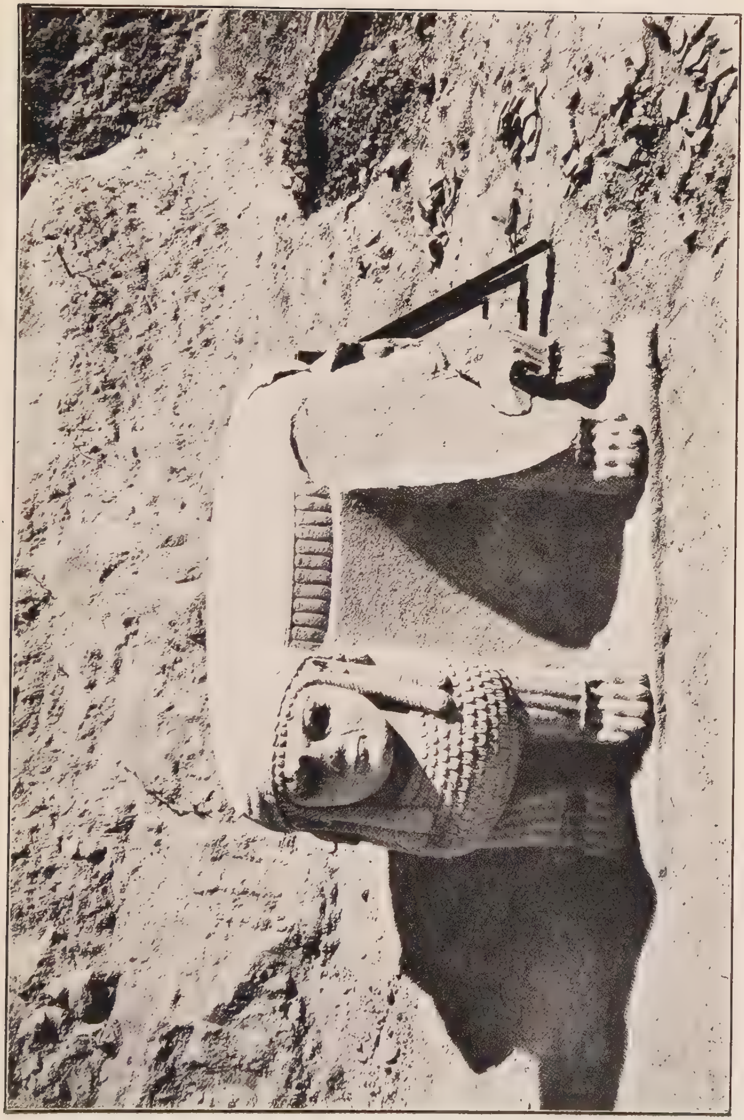
[1] See Pl. XXVIII.

[2] Compare the head-dress of the priest-king just described. The horns are wanting on the similar sphinx-base from Sinjerli (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, ii. Pl. XXXIII.), and in this case an extra short wing is shown descending behind the shoulder: otherwise the details of treatment correspond. It is interesting to compare these bases with one of purely Assyrian style, published by Layard (*Monuments of Nineveh*, i. Pl. XCV.); in the latter case there are three pairs of horns, and the rendering of the idea differs in nearly every detail.

To face p. 274.

PLATE L



SAKJE-GEUZI : SPHINX-PEDESTAL TO CENTRAL COLUMN OF PORTICO.

a plain column. The excavators indeed found reason to believe that in some secondary use of the site, after the upper walling of this palace had been destroyed, the flat top of this pedestal had served as an altar or its equivalent, and by the side of it they found numerous burnt bones and cinders. It is clear, however, that in its original inception the palace doorway must have required a column to help the broad span between the wing-towers, which amounted to more than twenty-three feet. We are inclined to believe that possibly such a column, in conformity with the general design of the building, may have been in the form of a great statue, similar for example to that of Panammu found at Gerdschein near Sinjerli,[1] and more particularly to the round column-figure found at Palanga.[2] Before passing from the subject of this portico, we must mention also two broad steps which obviously formed part of the same building. They are decorated with an interesting pattern which includes rosettes, and seem to have given access to a series of upper chambers.

The excavation of *Jobba Eyuk* was completed in 1911, when it became clear that at the period of the sculptures (about the eighth century B.C.) this small mound was entirely covered by the Royal Palace and its defensive enclosure, of which we reproduce the completed plan.[3]

A beginning was also made on the largest mound of this neighbourhood, called *Songrus Eyuk*, which rises some one hundred and sixty feet above the plain, and presented a broad surface some five hundred feet in length, oval in shape. The sides were unnaturally steep, and proved to be supported by the buried walls and revetments of successive ages. Towards the south there were traces of a gateway, upon which, however, were superposed stout Seleucidan remains, so that no further sculptures were recovered. In the interior Hittite traces were found at a net depth of thirteen feet below the surface ; but inside the western scarp, where the cutting was deeper, they were still being found at a depth of thirty feet, a level which corresponded with the latter part of the XVIIIth Dynasty and the reign of Subbiluliuma. At this time a double defensive wall enclosed the mound, and there were indications of a much older system of fortifications.[1]

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[1] See *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, i. p. 54, fig. 16 ; and Berlin Vorderas. Mus., No. 3012.

[2] See ch. viii. p. 211 and Pl. XXXIX., and cf. p. 262.

[3] Our fig. 29, from *Liv. A.A.*, v. (1912), Pl. III.

Unfortunately the excavations at Sakje-Geuzi have not as yet been rewarded by any documentary evidence. An effort was made to obtain some material basis for chronology by cutting a section of the mound down to the undisturbed ground upon which it had grown. It was found that the whole mound was artificial, being the accumulated rubbish of continuous or successive settlements. It began in remote antiquity with the middens and other traces of a primitive neolithic population, whose flint and obsidian fragments and black pottery formed a distinct deposit, in which the excavators thought they detected three strata. That age was succeeded by two others, during which the neolithic culture remained predominant. Towards the end of this phase a new style of painted pottery began to make its appearance, and thereafter for two long ages painted motives typify the ceramic art of the locality. The main wall of the mound was built at the close of the last of these periods, and seems to have been contemporary with the construction of the palace within. Subsequently painted pottery appears only sporadically, and such fragments as were found are more definitely related to late Aegean art, while the commoner pottery was the hard burnt brick-like ware familiar on Assyrian sites.[2]

There can be no doubt that in this record of two thousand fragments of pottery in their original stratification, there is valuable material for future comparative study. For the present, however, that which prevents the immediate application of this material to the problem of chronology is the remarkable fact that nearly all the early painted fabrics,[3] which constitute by far the larger portion of objects found in the course of this section, seem to be local, or at any rate unlike any others upon record. In the course of future excavations in this and other localities, relations will be doubtless established which will enable archaeologists to connect the growth of this site with the established chronology of some civilisation like that of Egypt or Assyria. For the present the only relations suggested, and these with no great clearness, are, firstly, in regard to the black pottery, sometimes decorated with a white incised pattern, which resembles in general character that found sparsely in the Troad by Schliemann[1] and by Dr. Arthur Evans in the neolithic and earliest 'Minoan' strata of Crete;[2] secondly, a few fragments of a peculiar fabric with black pattern on yellow base, belonging at Sakje-Geuzi to the neolithic epoch, and corresponding closely to some of the age of Naram-Sin, found freely by M. de Morgan in his excavations at Susa;[3] and, thirdly, some general resemblance between individual fragments of the painted fabrics and those found by Dr. Pumpelly in Turkestan,[4] by Professor Petrie in the Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos,[5] and more especially by Dr. Evans in the early Minoan strata of Crete.[6] The precise nature of these suggested relations is not yet made clear, but for our purpose it is of interest to realise that it is so remote. So far as its ceramic art is concerned, the Hittite civilisation for many ages developed independently. Further, it is established that the growth of that civilisation may be traced back in the locality earlier than the beginnings of Anatolian history in the age of Sargon of Akkad. The Ḫattic penetration of the fifteenth century B.C., illustrated by the sculptures of Sinjerli, introduced into this *milieu* distinctive features, which endured so long as the city of Ḫatti remained the political centre of the Hittite world. At that time, as we have seen, Sinjerli was a relatively small town on a single mound; so that in all probability Sakje-Geuzi marks the site of the chief city of this important valley during the imperial age. It may well be from here that about 1468 B.C. Ḫattic envoys met the armies of Thothmes III. with presents, on the occasion when that Pharaoh first advanced beyond the Orontes to Carchemish and the Euphrates.

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[1] *Second Interim Report* . . . (1911), *Liv. A.A.*, v. (1912), p. 66 ff.

[2] See *Liv. A.A.*, i. No. 4, Pl. XLIII., and p. 112, etc.

[3] The later painted fabrics have a clear relation to those of Kara Eyuk (Chantre, *Mission*, Pls. III., X.-XIII.), Boghaz-Keui, and the Kara Dagh. These, however, are not earlier than the first millennium B.C.

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[1] Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (London, 1891), p. 41, figs. 18, 20, 21.

[2] Ashmolean Museum, the black, red-black, and red-brown wares, also the *pointillé*.

[3] *Les Premières Civilisations* (Paris, 1909), p. 198, n. 5.

[4] R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan* (Washington, 1908), Pls. XXIX.-XXXIII., specimens to be seen in the Völkerkunde Museum, Berlin.

[5] *Royal Tombs*, ii. (1901), Pl. LIV., specimens to be seen in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[6] *E.g.* Ashmolean Museum, Class Æ. 757 (various kinds), Æ. 753 (red on buff), and Æ. 758 (mottled red). After early Minoan II. the resemblance ceases.

(c) THE ART AND REMAINS OF CARCHEMISH

CARCHEMISH.—The site of this historic city and fortress had long been identified with Jerablus upon the Euphrates from the reports of early travellers, whose records gave indication of a walled city upon the river's brink, protected on the land side by ditches in addition to the ramparts, and enclosing as usual a high knoll which marks at once the acropolis and the site of the original settlement in a remoter age. Then, in 1876-1879, some preliminary excavations were made on behalf of the British Museum, resulting in the discovery and recording of several lengthy inscriptions in Hittite characters, numerous fragments of the same kind, two stelae and the upper portion of a third, as well as a stone sculptured upon its flat side with the full-face portrait of an exalted being. In some of these sculptures the motive and in others the detail of treatment suggest already the influence of an unfamiliar but presumably extraneous artistic influence. This is particularly to be noticed in the emblems of winged deities, and in some of the monuments on which no Hittite hieroglyphs are found. One of the latter category is a striking monument representing two figures standing upon the back of a crouching lion.[1] The mane of the lion is represented, but no hair is shown underneath the belly. The attitude of the beast is uncommon in Hittite art, as may be seen

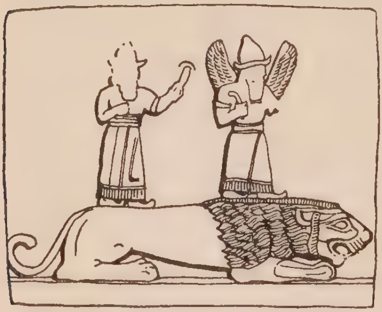

Fig. 30.—GODS ON LION, CARCHEMISH.

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[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii. p. 62, fig. 276. Hogarth, *Liv. A.A.A.*, ii. (1909), Pl. xxxv. Pottier, *L'Art Hittite* (Paris, 1926), fig. 3.

by comparing the lions of Sinjerli, Sakje-Geuzi, Marash, Derendeh, and elsewhere. The animals carved on the rock walls of the sanctuary of Iasily Kaya, which also support exalted persons, are represented as standing; whereas in this case the chin, belly, and tail of the animal almost touch the ground. The nearest analogy is perhaps one of the less known sculptures of Eyuk,[1] but there is no real parallel for this treatment of the subject. Of the personages, one is winged and clearly divine, while the other, though dressed in the same way, stands behind over the quarters of the animal, with one hand raised in an attitude of reverence or supplication. Otherwise the figures are of equal height, and their costumes also are alike. The head-dress is a conical hat with prominent upturning brim; the toes of the shoes are likewise turned up in an exaggerated manner. The robe in each case is long, with a broad fringe around the bottom; around the waist there is a belt or girdle, and a fold of the skirt falls sideways from the middle towards the right. The wings of the leading figure rise sharply upwards from behind the shoulders, as on one of the deities of Iasily Kaya.[2] He stands upon the shoulders of the beast, whose head cowers in abjection. Both in motive and in treatment this monument, though weathered and exposed, reveals evidence of artistic skill which is not present on most of the purely Ḫattic monuments.

A similar divergence or difference is suggested by other early-known monuments of Jerablus notwithstanding that they bear Hittite inscriptions upon them. Another deity is represented on a fragment of basalt, thirty-one inches high, upon which the lower part of the body and the ends of four bands of hieroglyphs are preserved.[3] In this case the wings are depressed, folding by the sides, and reaching to the knees, otherwise they would hardly be visible on the broken stone. The feet of the figure and the left hand are missing; in the right hand, which is in front of the body, is a small seed-basket—a symbolism derived from the other side of the Euphrates.[1] The long robe of this deity is similarly strange to early Hittite art, being bordered with a long fringe, and divided by several parallel bands of embroidery.[2] This, however, seems to be an outer cloak, for on the original there may be seen traces of the familiar short tunic. The carving of this monument is unsurpassed in the whole range of Hittite work. The delicate indications of the knee muscles may be noted as an illustration, especially when the gritty nature of the stone is taken into consideration. In making this comparison it should be borne in mind that most of the known Ḫattic reliefs are worn through exposure to the weather; and that objects unearthed for the first time, as at Sakje-Geuzi, give a different impression as regards the sculptor's craft.[3]

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[1] See p. 139; and cf. Pl. XXII. (Iasily Kaya), Pl. XLVIII. (Sakje-Geuzi), and Pl. XLIII. (Marash). For a discussion of the motive in general, see *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, *cit.*, p. 270, n. 1.

[2] No. 5 L.

[3] British Museum, *Guide to Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, p. 27, No. 3; Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, ii., fig. 277; Messerschmidt, *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. XII. A photograph in Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 142. Also Hogarth, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XXXV. (ii).

Though this first glimpse of the art and symbolism of Carchemish was perplexing, certain objects of this early series indicated none the less a clearer relation to Hittite work. One of them was a royal stela resembling that of Marash.[4] It is partly chipped away; the preserved portion is forty-seven inches high and twenty-six inches wide. It is crossed horizontally with eight bands of hieroglyphic inscriptions in relief, with raised lines between them, except where the outline of the central figure intervenes. This represents a man, in higher relief than the rest of the carving,[5] who stands in the middle portion of the stone, his feet descending below the inscription, and his head just entering the topmost band. The figure is nearly all chipped away, but the outline remains by that very process well defined. The person, undoubtedly a king, faces to his left, and in his extended left arm he holds aloft a short staff or rod which is marked as though divided down the middle. His right arm is not seen. His robe is crossed obliquely by folds, and descends to the ankles. His feet are shod, and the toes of the shoes turn sharply upwards. His hair seems to have been dressed in a single bunched curl behind the neck,[1] but the point is obscure. The upper portion of a second similar monument is on record,[2] but the object is destroyed. It shows a central figure turned likewise to the left; with the left hand up, and forward, and the right hand before the chest. The head-dress seems to be a skull-cap, with band across the forehead. The sleeves of the dress are short; and around the waist there is another instance of the broad girdle of cords, ending, it would seem, in a curling knot or loop. There are four rows of hieroglyphs, of which we have only an imperfect copy. A fragment of a third monument of like kind is preserved,[3] but it is uninstructive.

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[1] Cf. also the sculpture found at Sakje-Geuzi, Pl. XLVII.; and *Liv. A.A.*, 1908 (4), Pl. XLI., No. 2, where the deity has four wings.

[2] Cf. the sculptures of Bor, Pl. XXXIII.; and Ivrîz, Pl. XXXIV.

[3] Compare also the rows of dancing figures at Boghaz-Keui (Pl. XXIV., Nos. 31-42, and Pl. XXIII.), of which that in the small gallery was only cleared in relatively recent years.

[4] *C.I.H.*, (1900), Pl. x.; *British Museum Guide, cit.*, p. 27, No. 8. Cf. Sayce in *Proc. S.B.A.* (Nov. 1905), p. 201.

[5] Cf. for this feature the Bor sculpture, Pl. XXXIII.

In view of subsequent discoveries we pass by the several inscriptions and numerous inscribed fragments with one exception. This was a portion of a round column five feet six inches high.[4] The back of this object had been dressed, subsequently to the breaking of the stone, for the purpose of carving thereon a figure seemingly divine and in full face. This again is not in Hittite style, but Hittite influence may be found surviving in certain features.

In the course of these early excavations it would seem that the foundations of at least one palatial building were come upon. 'Facing the entrance,' we are told, 'there were found two imperfect tablets, which formed part of an adoration scene. On the one was the image of a goddess, the Hittite Kybele, naked, winged, and with hands offering her breasts.' Her hair descends in a double plait on each side, curling away at the bottom around the shoulders.[5] The hat is of conical shape, the brim upturned, and bulging at the top. The priestess represented on the adjoining slab was thought by those who saw the sculptures to have been clad in a cloak, but the stone was broken away above the knees of the figure. A little further along were three figures in procession.[1] This stone was likewise broken about the middle of the figures; but the central figure may be seen to have been clad in a long fringed cloak, with a long under garment which is belted; while the outer figures wear the short tunic familiar in Hittite sculptures, as well as the characteristic shoes with upturned toes. The border to the stone is the pattern of continuous coil such as we have seen at Sakje-Geuzi and elsewhere on sculptures of late Hittite art.

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[1] On the interest of this detail as a criterion, see p. 162, etc.

[2] Boscawen in the *Graphic*, Dec. 11, 1880; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, ii., Additions, fig. 390; *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. xv. 13, and text, p. 12.

[3] *British Museum Guide*, p. 27, No. 6; *C.I.H.* (1902), Pl. xiv., No. 7.

[4] *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. xi., 2, and text, p. 10; *British Museum Guide*, p. 27, No. 2; Sayce in *Proc. S.B.A.* (Nov. 1905), p. 206.

[5] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, fig. 390. Hogarth, *Liv. A.A.* (Dec. 1909), ii. pp. 165-72 and Pls. xxxv., xxxvi. (i).

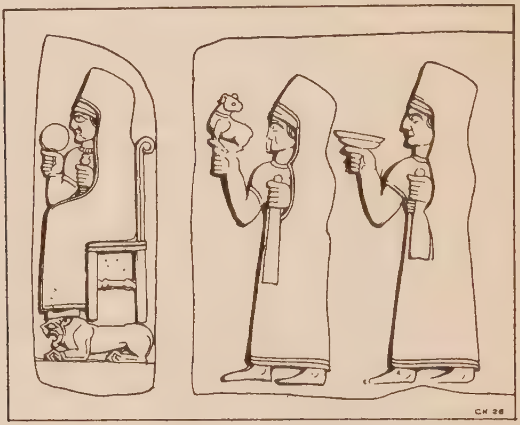

Fig. 31.—Lion Goddess and Attendants, Carchemish.

This first impression of a radical distinction in the art-products and culture of Carchemish has been amplified and confirmed in notable fashion by subsequent investigations. In 1912 the British Museum resumed its excavations, which were continued for three seasons and subsequently recommenced in 1920, when political circumstances unhappily brought them to an end. The work was begun by the late Mr. David G. Hogarth and continued under the experienced supervision of Mr. C. Leonard Woolley, who with his collaborators has also published a complete and instructive record of the results.[2] The first part described the site and its previous history, and made public the most important of the sculptures and inscriptions discovered up to that date; the second included Mr. Woolley's detailed study of the Hittite fortifications together with additional illustrations. The initial search of the explorers had been directed chiefly to the area below the landward face of the acropolis, where in 1879 a broad stairway flanked with sculptured slabs had been partly opened out, disclosing the indications of the palace to which we have alluded. In

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[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in . . . Asia Minor*, fig. 391. Mr. Hogarth's photograph (*loc. cit.*) shows only two figures on the same block, the central one and that to the right.

[2] Carchemish, *Report of the Excavations at Jerablus on behalf of the British Museum*, London, Part I. (1914) and Part II. (1921).

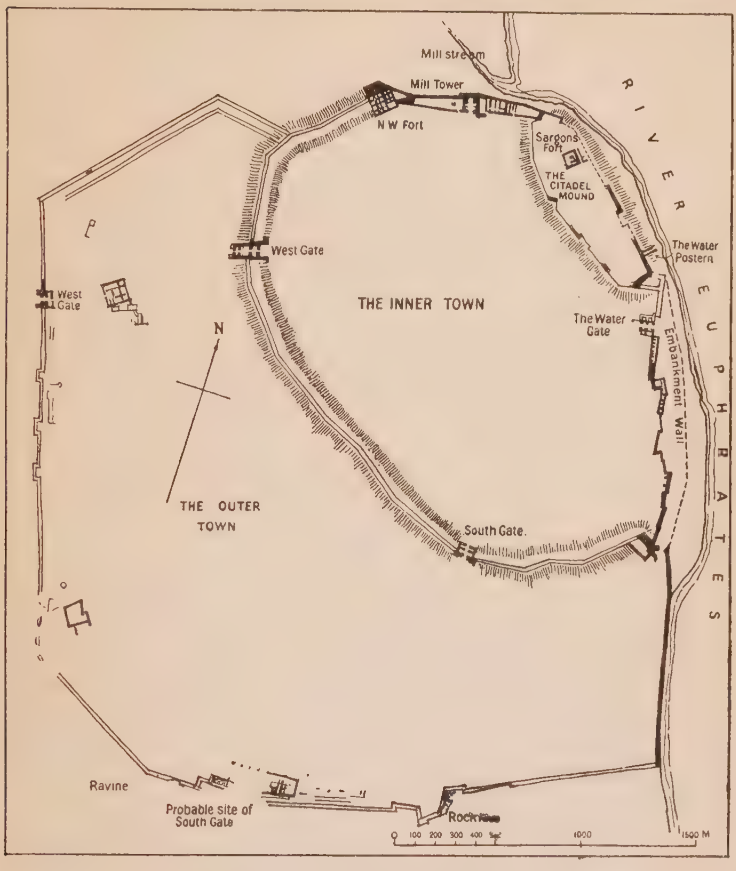
Mill stream
Mill Tower
N W Fort
RIVER EUPHRATES
Sargons Fort
THE CITADEL MOUND
The Water Postern
West Gate
THE INNER TOWN
The Water Gate
Embankment Wall
West Gate
N
THE OUTER TOWN
South Gate.
Ravine
Probable site of South Gate
Rock
0
100
200
300
400
500
1000
1500 M

Fig. 32.—Plan of the City of Carchemish as Developed by the British Museum Excavations.
(After Woolley, *Carchemish*, ii. Pl. 3.)

addition to the clearance of the courts, the gates, and outlying chambers, of an approach to that stairway (or of another palace at its foot), there was explored also a second avenue of approach from a water gate on the river, the quays downstream, an Assyrian palace of later date upon the acropolis with deep sections of the latter, the girdle wall and three gates of the royal quarter, the girdle wall and some houses of the lower town, as well as several outlying cemeteries and isolated buildings.[1]

These excavations brought to light from the various quarters numerous monuments and sculptures of which we have made a selection to illustrate any local affinity with Ḫattic motive or technique, as well as the several obvious phases of local development. Though not more than a fifth of this great city has been explored ; it is obvious that no adequate description of the remains already uncovered can be given within the scope of our present undertaking : they must be studied in the volumes mentioned. We are concerned primarily with the relation of the site to Ḫattic culture, and when we come to consider the very numerous monuments that have been unearthed, we are confronted by a further complication in the subsequent divergence of views as to the historical correlation of these discoveries. Evidently the excavator's own impressions must claim priority in our inquiry, but the studied opinions of two scholars in particular demand respect. In the first place M. Edmond Pottier has carefully compared the art illustrated by the monuments of Carchemish with that of Sinjerli and Sakje-Geuzi, and published his conclusions.[2] In the second place, fortunately for science, Mr. Hogarth completed before his death a course of lectures[3] in which he recorded the results of his own examination and study of the culture of Northern Syria, particularly as regards the post-Ḫattic period, and in this work the excavated remains of Carchemish receive the fullest consideration. If we compare the conclusions arrived at by these scholars individually with Mr. Woolley's own deductions, they seem to betray at first sight an irreconcilable difference of opinion ;

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[1] Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites*, p. 23.

[2] *L'Art Hittite*, Paris, 1926.

[3] The Schweich Lectures, 1924. Published with illustration under the title *Kings of the Hittites* (London), 1926.

but this is not radically the case. Each has attacked the problem from his own standpoint, and applied his own classification to the results.

M. Pottier sums up his very complete inquiry into the remains of the three cities we are now discussing in a succinct and illuminative paragraph,[1] which we quote in free translation. ‘We find a way of distinguishing the different periods of art, which the constant reconstruction of palaces and towns has mixed and confused underground in a kind of chaotic disorder. From these we believe it possible to sift out three successive layers: (i) An ARCHAIC PERIOD, in which is disclosed the veritable ancient Hittite style, going back to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. and continuing thereafter through a period of time down to somewhere around the tenth century B.C. The most ancient slabs of Sinjerli including the Chariot-scene, fig. 25, the Teshub, Pl. XLV., and Warrior, Pl. XLIV., belong to this phase, which is further illustrated by the more careful work of Carchemish,[2] and is lacking as yet at Sakje-Geuzi. (ii) A MIDDLE or TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, from the tenth and ninth centuries, in which Hittite art developed on parallel lines with the Assyrian, following the

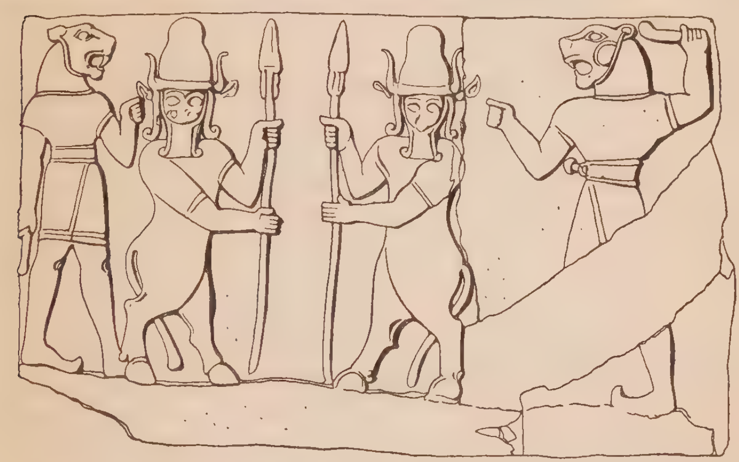

Fig. 33.—CARCHEMISH: SCULPTURES OF EARLY HITTITE STYLE.
(*Cf. Nos.* 14-15 *L. at Iasily Kaya, p.* 100.)

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

[2] Including our figs. 33, 36, 39.

same aesthetic canons, whereby health and physical vigour and even the status of personages finds its expression in rotundity of form amounting almost to corpulence, wherein the robes are long and enriched with embroideries, while the hairdressing and beard become the objects of special care. The artists of these two regions did not copy one another but derived their inspiration from the same ideas. The Assyrian appearance of the Hittite figures of this phase should not deceive us, nor lead us to misunderstand the original basis of composition and subject which remain native. The most important decorations at Carchemish [including our figs. 31, 34, 38] belong to this period, in which we are not able as yet to decide which influence predominates, that of the old confederacy of Syrian princes, or that of the growing empire of Assyria. (iii) The Recent Period emerges between the ninth and seventh centuries B.C., when the lot of the peoples had been decided and the Hittite cause was lost, leaving the conqueror a free field in which to impose his influences upon the vanquished. In this phase Hittite art, before its final submergence, becomes cloaked more and more in Assyrian style, such as can be seen in the last phase of the reconstructions at Sinjerli [*e.g.* our figs 27, 28], and is familiar at Sakje-Geuzi. At the same time, we may see in the art of these sculptures certain latent peculiarities which reaffirm the vitality of its ancient foundation. To the end Hittite art sought to maintain its originality, to express its own conceptions, in despite of

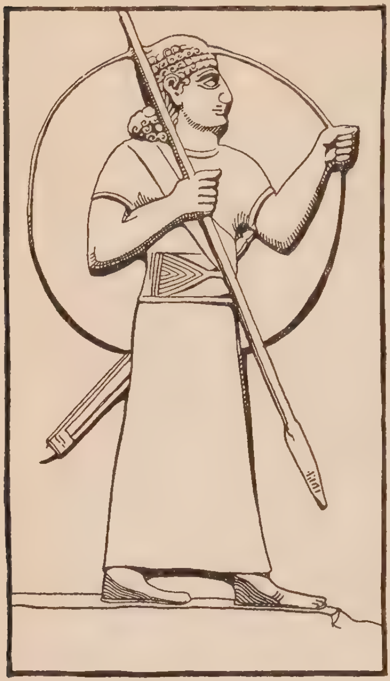

Fig. 34.—Warrior with Spear and Shield, Carchemish. (Second phase.)

circumstance and notwithstanding political subjection.'[1] This masterly review of the whole position from the artistic standpoint appeals to us as almost above criticism, and it was accepted by Mr. Hogarth in its main outline, though a nearer approximation as to dates may be derived from a study of the excavator's observations and the known history of the site.

Mr. Hogarth, as a result of his observations on the site and study of Mr. Woolley's subsequent discoveries, divided the excavated remains into two categories, which he called the First Civilisation and the Second. He laid down as the premise of his argument[2] that 'The antiquities of the city and its neighbourhood are distinguished sharply into two main groups, respectively antecedent and subsequent to an epoch of disaster, to whose effects by fire and sack the strata in the royal palace bear clear witness. Before and after that epoch such markedly different social apparatus, different art in great things and small, different customs of burial, and differing extent and character of buildings are illustrated by the remains, that violent resettlement of the city and its district by a new and foreign element of population is the most likely agency of change that can be presumed. . . . The First Civilisation seems not to have known iron, which came into use only in the opening period of the Second; and so far as excavation has proceeded, nothing has been found belonging to the First Civilisation which shows any characteristic feature of the Cappadocian

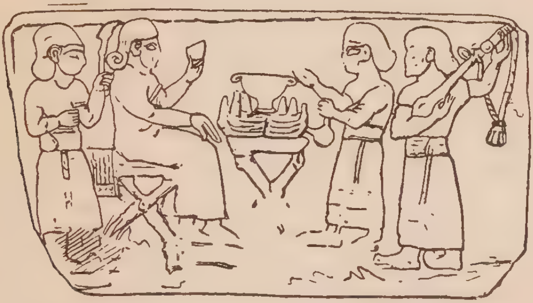

Fig. 35.—Feast Scene, in late Hittite Style, Carchemish.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 24-5.

Hittite culture, or any distinctive Hittite character at all.' Summing up his survey of this First Civilisation, which we have followed briefly in his own words, Mr. Hogarth concluded that, judging by the latest weapon-forms, this phase came to an end with the second millennium B.C., thus agreeing in this particular with M. Pottier's independent judgment. Finally, Mr. Hogarth laid stress on three general points, firstly, that the First Civilisation seems to have belonged, from its beginning to its end, to a Mesopotamian cycle of culture; secondly, that, so far as the Jerablus site has yet been searched, no sculptures or inscriptions of that period have come to light, the monumental history of Carchemish not having begun, apparently, before the Syrian Iron Age; thirdly, that inhumation was in exclusive use and cremation not practised in any form.

The Second Civilisation, Mr. Hogarth continued,[1] was heralded by a cataclysm; and when this was over, Carchemish had passed into the hands of men who, in all probability, were of foreign race. Neither the city, however, nor still less its district, he argued, was exclusively inhabited by these men; for after some centuries the burial custom of inhumation and some survivals of styles proper to the First Civilisation reappeared. 'All earlier buildings, such as they were, were razed, and upon them rose new ones, showing features peculiar to Hittite architecture whether in Cappadocia or in Syria—*e.g.* walls bonded by "tongues" of stone, and ground-courses of orthostatic slabs sometimes carved as dados; also the "Ḫilani" type of palace and the Ḫattic type of gateway. The builders of these structures used wheel-made pots. The vase-shapes were new to the locality, and of types more familiar to us in other parts of the Near East at slightly later periods, *e.g.* in western Asia Minor during the earliest Hellenic Age. Lastly, two important novelties made their appearance: namely, iron and the burial method of cremation which was universal in the chief Carchemish cemetery. Only when this Second Civilisation was well established, that is only after the lapse of at least a generation, were produced the earliest stone monuments, sculptured or inscribed, which thus far have been found on the site. The beginning of the monumental history of Carchemish, if judged by stylistic comparisons, fell later than the beginning of monumental production at Senjirli.'

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

This discussion, though posterior to the excavations, prepares us to appreciate now Mr. Woolley's own conclusions. M. Pottier based his results primarily on stylistic considerations, Mr. Hogarth on the archaeological data: both agree as to a marked distinction between the first epoch and the next, and in assigning its close to the end of the eleventh century B.C. But whereas the one admitted a whole series of sculptures within the earlier period, the other excluded, as we have just seen, all stone monuments, whether sculptured or inscribed. The point at issue is radical to our own inquiry. We are now aware that the Hittite archives (in the translation of which Mr. Hogarth had not complete confidence) indicate that Carchemish fell to Subbiluliuma in the course of his campaign in Syria, early in the fourteenth century B.C., being apportioned to a member of the Ḫattic family as a ruler, and that soon afterwards Mitanni and certain Syrian states were bound by treaties which laid down their relations with the principality of Carchemish. We may also note that the Bronze Age closed generally but not suddenly in Syria about the year 1200 B.C., a date which is marked by the fall of the Ḫattic dynasty. We turn now to the excavator's report, relying on the fact appreciated by all who are familiar with field work, that a multitude of relatively insignificant observations made during the actual process of investigation gradually takes form in an indelible impression, which in the end is often more reliable, though less easily expounded, than the subsequent discussion of tangible discoveries. Mr. Woolley from this advantageous position explains with clarity and deliberation the development of Carchemish from the beginning: we follow his account as far as possible in his own words.[1]

He tells of the origin of settlement on the rocky mound near the river's bank, back in the Neolithic Period. Then, when the Tell had attained already a height of some fifteen metres, the villagers built a wall around it. These wall-builders were a new folk; the Stone Age had given way to that of Bronze, and there had been seemingly an influx of new blood. Pottery was hand-made, the dead were buried in pots under the floors of the houses. 'At first the introduction of metal does not seem to have brought with it other very radical changes; but not very long before the fortification of the citadel, far-reaching innovations were introduced. The Bronze Age man who built the wall turned his clay vessels on the wheel in shapes unknown before; he seldom used paint, and then only in the simplest and rudest ways. He buried his dead in stone-lined cists, at full length, with an elaborate tomb furniture of vessels, arms, and ornaments. These cultural innovations, affecting just those customs which are most conservative, would seem to denote a new race. On the other hand, they do not appear to have been either sudden or violently enforced, for the two burial-customs overlap and sometimes combine, whence it may be argued that the change in population was but partial, and that the old stock continued to live side by side with the newcomers, dominated by their superiority, driven to imitate their high culture, but still hankering always after their own traditions. Indeed, there is much to be said for the theory that throughout all history the Hittites were in a minority in North Syria, a fighting aristocracy alien to the land.'[1]

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[1] We follow Mr. Woolley's narrative, *op. cit.*, p. 38, § 2, quoting certain passages.

Mr. Woolley thought it probable from archaeological considerations that they were Hittites who built the city wall. There was, however, noticeable in the town's history a later change of more gradual development, to be seen particularly in new types of weapons and a wider range of finer pot-making, but scarcely striking enough to demand the theory of a wholly new race having been their authors. He recalls as historical landmarks the facts that the name of Carchemish was familiar to the Babylonians as early as 2000 B.C., and that the descent of Mursil upon Babylon early in the second millennium B.C. implies a Ḫattic footing in north Syria (as evidenced in fact by the capture of Aleppo); that the Biblical references to Hittites in south Syria in the time of Abraham, and to the sons of Heth, all conform with the theory of an early Hittite occupation of Northern Syria. Summing up this position, Mr. Woolley expresses the view that the earliest Copper Age might be a direct continuation of the Neolithic, but that the developed early Bronze Age marked the introduction of a new element.

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[1] Woolley, *Carchemish*, ii. p. 39.

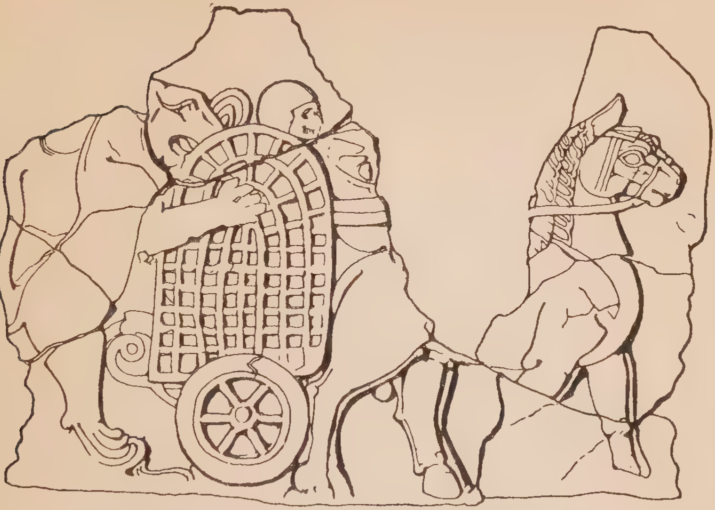

Fig. 36.—Hunter in Protected Chariot.

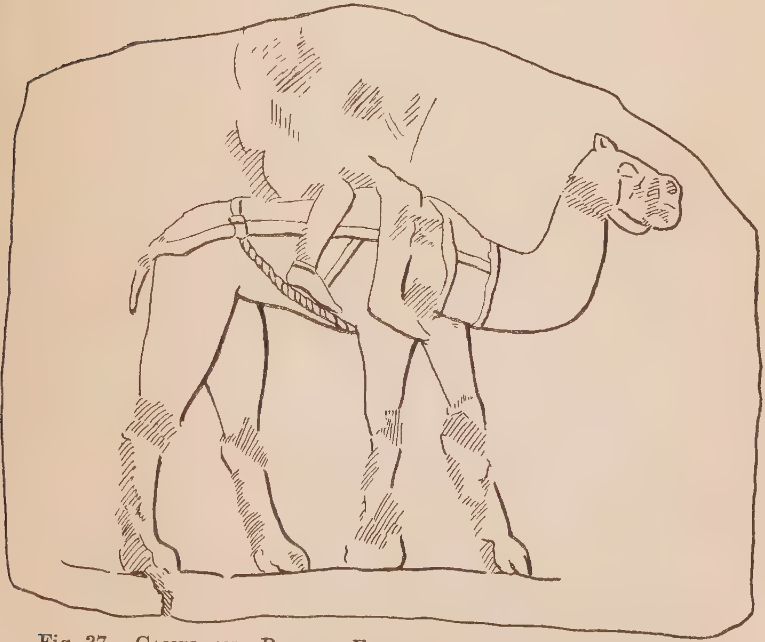

Fig. 37.—Camel and Rider. Examples of Earliest and Latest Styles, Carchemish.

'This we may call, at least provisionally, the *Early Hittite*; the *Middle period*, succeeding to it we do not know when, will last down to 1200 B.C., and the term "Late Hittites" will cover the city's history from its rebuilding after the great northern invasion, when the King of Carchemish, no longer a subject of the old Halys monarchy, was *primus inter pares* of the North Syrian Hittite confederacy, through the last hundred years of intermittent vassalage to Assyria, until its final overthrow by Nebuchadnezzar in 604 B.C.'[1]

Only a small portion of the acropolis has yet been excavated, but the 'evidence for assigning the ring wall of the acropolis to the early Hittite period is quite conclusive. In houses lying beneath the foundations of the wall and undisturbed by it, as in the ruins outside the wall but well below the surface of the slope, we find under the floors aeneolithic pot-burials which in the higher strata give place to cist graves of the transition period and then to fully developed "Early Hittite" graves. These precede the wall. In other cases Early Hittite burials are found in connection not with the house ruins but with the wall itself; they lie in niches or pits scooped out under its foundations, or dug down behind it into the pockets of made soil between it and the old Kala'at slope. These are later than the wall.'[2] Further evidence to the same effect was obtained in the excavation of a sally-port on the water-side.

'This first wall served its purpose and satisfied its holders during many years: for by the time a second line of defence was required, the Early Hittites had given place to the Middle Hittites, and the city of Carchemish had grown enormously in area, in wealth, and in its ideas of what was required of it. So far as we have been able to find out, the early defences were limited to the citadel, and many buildings that may have lain outside that were left undefended: when an innovation was made it was a sweeping one, and the new walls were designed to include a lower town which had extended far beyond the slopes of its parent mound.'[3]

'Of the wall along the mound's top nothing is left except, isolated here and there at the highest surviving points, a few rough stones which may or may not be part of its foundation. One must imagine it of great width but no very great height, with a front battered, though not so steeply as the mound's face, with a breastwork along its outer edge and, perhaps, with pointed battlements such as one sees in Assyrian reliefs. This was the character of the defences along all the rest of the southern and western sides of the town, the bold slope of mound and wall being broken only by two gates. At the north-west corner, close to what was then the bank of the little stream, the mound came to an end, and from here to the citadel there was again a built wall of masonry and brickwork which with its towers, its double wall-line, and intramural chambers, reproduced in many respects the character of the river wall.'[1]

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[1] *Carchemish*, ii. p. 40.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

A great fort abutted on the earthwork, and the opposite side looked down upon the north gate of the town. 'From the fort there ran towards the citadel a double wall whose outer member at its eastern end rose straight from the edge of a low cliff. Behind the town wall square shafts were closed by huge covering stones far too heavy to be often moved, but possibly they were emergency exits, a kind of sally-port which would be used but rarely and in case of grave need. Immediately beyond this stands the Tell, and up its steep side ran a double wall, connecting the town wall with that of the citadel. But the old ring wall of the Early Hittites could no longer satisfy the ideals of the defenders of Carchemish, and under their hands the north-western part at least of the mound underwent a radical transformation. Along the landward side here its whole slope was hidden by a terraced wall or series of walls which ran in tiers from the base to the summit, giving to this part of the citadel a stepped appearance not unlike that of the Babylonian *ziggurat*.'[2]

On the river face of the mound, where defence was easy and appearances counted for little, the old simple wall was deemed sufficient and suffered no change of plan. The material for dating the inner town-wall is abundant and as conclusive as could be hoped. Taking these pieces of evidence together, we may safely say that the walls were built during the Middle Hittite period.

'Such, briefly, were the defences of the town until 1200 B.C. Then came disaster. We know from Egyptian sources that when, at the close of the thirteenth century, the great wave of invasion from the north-west burst over Asia Minor and swept on through Syria to the borders of Egypt, Carchemish fell before it. There is evidence on the site to confirm this. Everywhere where we have dug there are signs of wholesale destruction . . . clearly more or less contemporaneous. The city, however, did not long remain desolate, and over its ruins new buildings arose which not less clearly show uniformity in manner and in date. The builders had little regard for the old structures: they built anew, for the most part, and did not restore, and the sculptured stones of the earlier town they re-used haphazard as building-blocks with the carving hacked away or turned ignominiously to the wall. But they none the less carried on the architectural ideals of their predecessors, had the same canons of art, and employed the same script on their monuments: they were then essentially Hittites. On the other hand, we now for the first time find iron taking the place of bronze for tools and weapons; the dead, instead of being buried full length in stone-lined cists, were burned, and their cremated ashes deposited in urns; new types of figurines, too, witness to modification of religious beliefs. . . . The Hittite soldiers at this late period wore armour[1] which anticipates almost exactly the Athenian panoply of the fifth century—itself, as the Greeks said, derived from the Carians of south-west Asia

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[1] *Carchemish*, ii. p. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

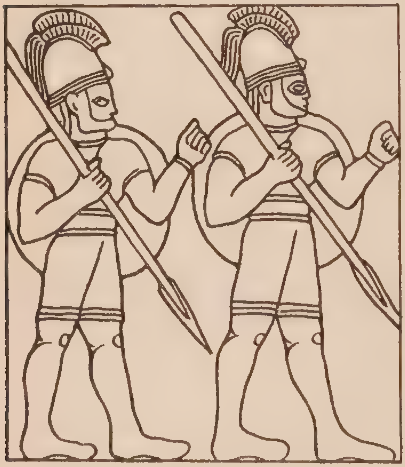

Fig. 38.
Western Warriors, Carchemish.

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[1] Cf. our fig. 38. The head-dress recalls that depicted on the well-known warrior-vase from Mycenae; and the sculptures in our view reflect the presence of western warriors, whether mercenaries in the Hittite organisation (as at Kadesh), or driven there by the subsequent later pressure of the great migrations that brought the Philistines and their companions as far as Palestine. Cf. p. 10, n. 5.

Minor. It would seem that when the great invasion was broken up at the gateway of Egypt, and the tribes who had joined it turned back to settle on the lands they had passed through . . . though they may on their advance have joined in the sacking of the city, they returned to settle therein as friends; and so well do they preserve the continuity of its traditions that we need not hesitate to give to the six hundred years which followed the title of the Late Hittite period.

'The resettlement of the city probably took place very soon after its destruction. The old defences must have been repaired and probably sufficed for some fairly long period. But as the kings of Carchemish consolidated their power and extended their frontiers, the capital also waxed in importance and in size, until the old walls would no longer serve for the protection of the growing city. How long the interval was we cannot yet say, but a time came in the Late Hittite period when the buildings of the town had outgrown the circuit of the ramparts, and its people must needs embark upon a more ambitious work of fortification. The old walls and earthwork were retained in service, but outside them a new girdle wall was built enclosing a new quarter of the town.'[1]

Such then, in brief outline, are the views stated by Mr. Woolley, who was intimately in contact with the excavations of Carchemish. As regards the subject of discussion, it is to be noted that he divides the culture phases into three periods, placing the great disaster, about which all are agreed, at the end of the second (or middle) Hittite period, and dating that event approximately to 1200 B.C. His argument, based on personal knowledge and impressions of the actual discoveries, reconciles the broad facts of history. On this crucial historical question we agree with him; indeed Mr. Hogarth's conclusions would have fallen generally into line if he had adopted the year 1200 as the date of transition from bronze to iron. Facts and data observed in the West do not necessarily apply contemporaneously in the East. Iron though still rare was in use among the Hittites under Ḫattusil in the early part of the thirteenth century B.C., as we know from correspondence between that monarch and Ramses II. Eliminating

[1] *Carchemish*, ii. pp. 48, 49.

that difference, the main positions of the three scholars whose opinions we have quoted are largely reconciled, and we derive full advantage from their illuminative discussion.

One conclusion emerges clearly from these considerations, namely, that the cultural influence of Ḫatti was only slightly and indirectly felt at Carchemish. It has been seen almost as a reflection in certain sculptures that we described at the outset, and may be noticed here and there in our further illustrations. But the historical fact remains that North Syria was dominated in the age that preceded the conquests of Subbiluliuma by Mitannian kings, who notwithstanding their Hittite affinities were not Ḫattians. The obvious distinction of the early Hittite art of North Syria is explained in our opinion by the fact that while a common substratum of Hittite peoples and their local dynasts formed the population of the Hittite world, the individual tendencies of Ḫatti and Mitanni, and no doubt of other states, fostered by their environment, lent to each tribal area its own peculiarities, in art, religion, and social organisation. Carchemish in our view was not a Ḫattic city, and its people though Hittite were not Ḫattians. The relatively few monuments reflecting Ḫattic influence pertain to the age of Subbiluliuma and his successors.

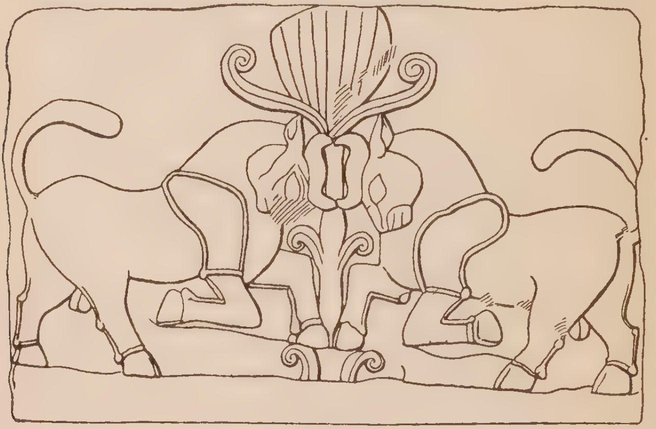


Fig. 39.

Group in Early Mitannian Hittite Style, Carchemish.

Sinjerli alone, of the three cities of Northern Syria that have been excavated, reveals at that date a preponderating Ḫattic influence, so marked, in fact, as to suggest an established occupation. Doubt on that point arises not from the lack of indications, but from the fact that the excavations at Sinjerli were only carried to a certain depth, below which we know little of the local archaeology. And even if the earlier archaeological data existed, such as have been brought to light at Carchemish and Sakje-Geuzi, we possess as yet no contemporary material for comparison from within the land of Ḫatti, so that it is not possible at the present time to arrive at any reliable conclusion upon those lines. We are limited as hitherto to a comparison of style and the symbolism of such monuments of the period as have come to light. These we have seen, and they suggest firstly a Ḫattic control or occupation of the strategic corridor southwards from Marash, as early at least as the imperial expansion of the fourteenth century B.C., while at Carchemish there is no such indication; and secondly, a subsequent development in Northern Syria of local Hittite culture upon lines that were generally parallel. This post-Ḫattic phase is richly illustrated by the remains of these three cities, which reflect also at one and the same time their heritage and political environment. This later phase in the history of Hittite Syria will be found to be further illustrated by the isolated monuments of Syria in general, which we shall examine in the ensuing chapter.

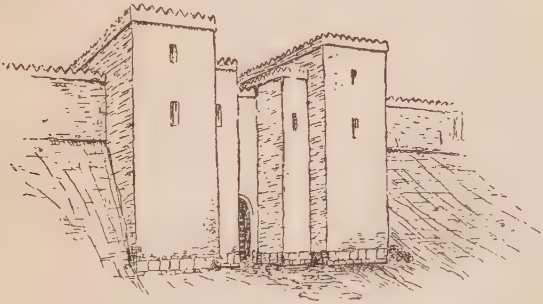


Fig. 40.—The Defences of Carchemish,

as depicted on the bronze gates of Balawat in the ninth century B.C., are still based on the Hittite model. Cf. figs. 1, 2.

CHAPTER X

SYRIA AND ITS MONUMENTS

Broad features. (*a*) In the North, Hittite cults and works denoting occupation. (*b*) In the Centre, Kadesh and Qatna Amorite centres. (*c*) Traces of the southerly penetration into Palestine. General summary and conclusions.

Down the whole seaboard of Syria there runs a chain of mountains, connecting in the north with Taurus and ending in the south with the Sinaitic Deserts. The ranges constituting this chain are separated from one another by valleys or passes which provide openings with the coast. In the extreme north, AMANUS is divided from Taurus by the gorges of the PYRAMUS, which can be followed only with some difficulty ; but it is traversed further southwards by two passes, the one by Bogche which leads directly into CILICIA, the other by Beilan which descends upon Alexandretta. Westwards it terminates in a bold headland called the Ras el Khanzir, and it is separated from the further ranges to the south by the deep valley of the ORONTES River. The ground lying eastward of the AMANUS as far as the Euphrates we regard as Northern Syria.

The second of these ranges is the Jebel Ansarieh, which reaches southward, fringing the coast, as far as the Nahr el Kebir, a swift river which enters the sea northwards from Tripoli. The mountain system now divides, forming two parallel ranges, the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, which in their turn reach southward as far as the mouth of the Litani River and Mount Hermon. The whole country eastward of this system, again as far as the Euphrates, including in the east Palmyra, in the north Aleppo, and in the south Damascus, we regard as Central Syria.

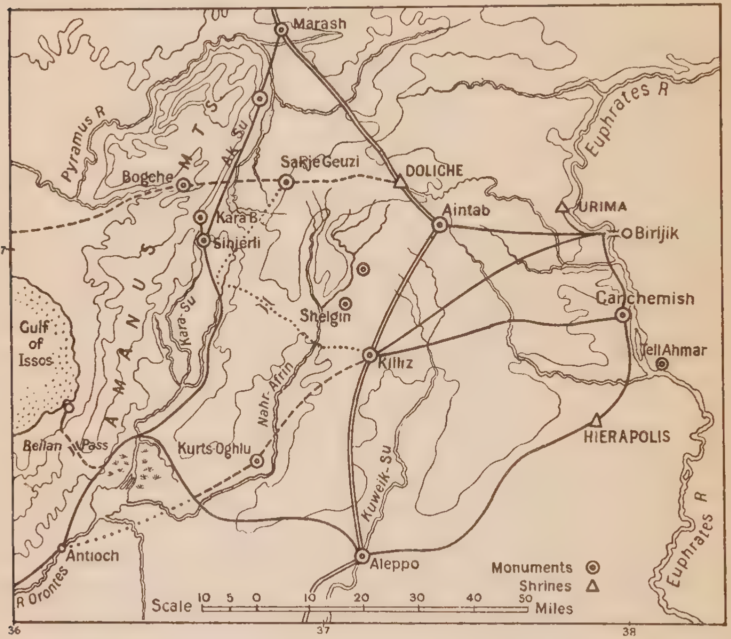
The mountain ranges southward now coalesce once more and form the central spine of Palestine, comprising Upper and Lower Galilee, Samaria and Judea, which, together with the adjoining plains and valleys, form Southern Syria.

This continuous mountain system down the coast anciently restrained in marked fashion the contact between the peoples of inland Syria and the culture of the seaboard, which on the other hand, by its relatively free intercourse with Egypt and Crete, as well as with other centres of civilisation around the eastern Mediterranean, was constantly infused with a fresh vigour, that distinguished it more and more from its eastern neighbours. This observation applies particularly, in the extreme north, to the tongue of eastern Cilicia which descends as far as Arsus (RHOSUS) and beyond; in Central Syria to the long coastal strip, which for the most part is not more than a mile or so in width, though broader in the vicinity of TYRE and SIDON; and, further south, in Palestine, to the plains of Akka, Sharon and Philistia. All of these coastal areas are known from their history, which the antiquities found within them now illustrate profusely, to have been primarily influenced by their maritime relations; and it is therefore of interest to note that, as in Asia Minor, no Hittite monuments have been found upon the Mediterranean shores.

(*a*) NORTHERN SYRIA

DOLICHE, HIERAPOLIS; HADJI BEKLI KEUI, KARA-BURSHLU, SAKJE-GEUZI, KURTS-OGHLU, SHELGIN; AINTAB; RUM KALE, BIREJIK, KELLEKLI, TELL-AHMAR.

The territory lying between the AMANUS range on the west and the Euphrates River on the east, bounded on the north by Taurus and descending gradually towards the plains of Aleppo, constitutes an area in itself, destined, like Palestine, to be the meeting-place and battlefield of the greater nations of antiquity. The occupation of Taurus by the Hittites, the subsequent incursions of the Pharaohs as far as the Euphrates, the momentary prosperity of Mitanni who in alliance with Egypt occupied this territory in the fifteenth century B.C., the southward penetration of the Ḫattic rulers, and finally the domination of Assyria, mark a succession of epochs, all of which have left their traces upon its monuments, whether visible or buried in its soil. It comprises three chief parallel features lying roughly from North to South. The first of these is the corridor between the AMANUS and the Kurt Dagh, in which lie two of the cities described in the preceding chapter. We have already noted that the head of this corridor is commanded by Marash, while the southern end opens out, giving access eastwards to Aleppo, southwards to the valley of the ORONTES River, and westwards by the pass of Beilan to the coast. It lay between the greater states of CILICIA, Carchemish and Aleppo.


Marash
Pyramus R
AMANUS MTS
Ak Su
Sakje Geuzi
DOLICHE
Euphrates R
Bogche
URIMA
Aintab
Birijik
Kara B.
Sinjerli
37
Gulf of Issos
Kara Su
Shelgin
Carchemish
Kilis
Tell Ahmar
Nahr Afrin
HIERAPOLIS
Beilan Pass
Kurts Oghlu
Kuweik Su
Antioch
R Orontes
Aleppo
Monuments ◎
Shrines △
Scale 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles
Euphrates R
36
37
38

NORTHERN SYRIA: HITTITE SITES AND COMMUNICATIONS.

In the Hittite occupation of Syria this north-western area had evidently a special strategic interest, and its numerous monuments attest the fact. Not only do the results of excavation show that some of its strongest positions were early occupied, but a number of isolated remains scattered here and there upon the plain and eastern border indicate a wide area of settlement. Probably it comprised the state of *UGARIT*, as known from both the Ḫattic and Egyptian records.

Our second division is the area between the Kurt Dagh and the Euphrates valley. This tract includes the basin of an inconspicuous inland river called the Nahr Koweik

(Chalus Fl.) which flows southwards from near Aintab towards Aleppo. Though waterless in summer and now without trees, this area possesses great potentialities, and the hundreds of mounds which top its plains and slopes attest its one-time prosperity.[1] It was named by the Egyptians the land of Naharain, as lying between the 'two rivers,' that is to say the Orontes and the Euphrates, following the north-eastern line of march. In this area Hittite monuments are found along the natural high road from the North which follows the foot of the hills, by Aintab and Killiz to Aleppo. The list is disproportionately brief, for no sites have yet been excavated in this vicinity.

Our third zone is the valley of the Euphrates itself. In addition to the monuments of Carchemish which we have already described, others are found, to the south at Tell-Ahmar upon the eastern bank, and to the north at Birejik which marks a much-used crossing of the river. There are also indications of Hittite settlement at Kellekli and elsewhere in the basin of the Euphrates, but westward of its actual valley, and in a previous chapter we spoke of the monuments of Samsat and Gerger which lie at the foot of Taurus. These monuments of the Euphrates valley might indeed be regarded as a group apart, and in the history of local art might be better so classified: but it has been our purpose to illustrate rather the Hittite political organisation, in which they indicate separate lines of route between the Hittite centre and the East. Before proceeding to a description of the Hittite monuments of Northern Syria, mention must be made of two places in particular which contribute important testimony in a different way. These are Membij, the site of Hierapolis, on the route from Aleppo to Carchemish, and Tell Doluk (Doliche) on the road from Birejik to Aintab, in both of which the central Hittite cult still visibly survived in the Roman age.

Doliche.—The site is located near Tell Doluk, some ten miles from Aintab by the road to Marash. There is now little to be seen in the vicinity except a large mound and some ancient quarries. At the neighbouring village of San, however, there was preserved until quite recently a walled pool containing sacred fish, regarded locally with reverence as a *Ziaret*. Its situation at the foot of Doluk-Baba hill suggests the position of the famous shrine.[1] The one local monument recorded is unfortunately mutilated and not altogether typical:[2] it seems none the less to represent the chief deity of the place, in classical times Jupiter Dolichenus, whose attributes are well known and well illustrated on numerous monuments.[3] He stands upon a bull, holding the emblem of lightning and a double-axe. His consort was a Lion-goddess, described on inscriptions as Hera Sancta,[4] a term applied to the Syrian goddess on inscriptions found at Delos[5] where the cult was established by colonists during the second century B.C. In these native deities, the Bull God and the Lion-goddess, we have, then, the exact parallel of those we have seen at Malatia, Eyuk and elsewhere. The god is thus clearly derived from Teshub, though he combines, as often in the later development of the cult, the symbolism of the father God, with that of the Attis Son-god. His cult was introduced to the Roman world by Syrian recruits, and found great favour among the soldiers who garrisoned the Roman wall in the north of Britain, as upon the German *limes*, and it is chiefly due to this cause that we have knowledge of the cult. Were it not for this fortuitous circumstance, that recruits from the north of Syria carried the tangible traces of this cult to Europe, there would have survived only a very shadowy impression of its character and origin. The lesson

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[1] On the modern condition and ancient importance of this region, see Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 94; Peters, *Nippur*, i. p. 81; Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations* (London, 1896), pp. 144 ff., and *The Passing of Empires* (1900), p. 35 with an illustration.

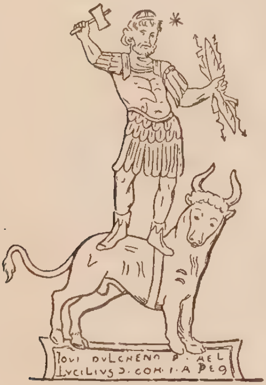
IOVI DVLCHENO P · AEL
LVCILIVS D · COH · I · A PEG

Fig. 41.—Zeus of Doliche.

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[1] Hogarth, *Liv. A.A.*, ii. (1909) p. 114.

[2] Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen, etc.*, p. 399, fig. 58.

[3] One of the best examples is found on a bronze plate from Heddernheim; another from which our illustration is taken is preserved in the Museum at Wiesbaden, published in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* (1901), Pl. VIII. Cf. also Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, pp. 113 ff. and 263, n. 23.

[4] *C.I.L.*, vi. 367, 413.

[5] *Fouilles à Delos, Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1882, p. 487.

is obvious. When further we compare the peculiar cult of Hierapolis on the one hand, with those of COMANA in Taurus and of OLBA on the other, the conclusion is forced upon us that the central Hittite religion had become deep-rooted in this area, notwithstanding the relative paucity of its monuments. On the other hand, the worship of the goddess belonged evidently to the soil, where it had been implanted prior even to the Hittite occupation: her cult survived in one form or another at all these shrines. It is the association of the male deity of this particular type and the worship of the two as a divine pair that testifies their Hittite origin.

HIERAPOLIS.—The site of a far-famed sanctuary of the Syrian goddess is identified with the ruins of modern Membij on a route from Aleppo to the junction of the Sajur River with the Euphrates, from which point [1] it is distant fourteen and a half miles. The site has been described by many travellers who have noted numerous remains of Roman, Saracenic, Seljukian and Moslem work. The sacred lake, its particular feature, as recorded by Lucian is still conspicuous.[2] 'On the west side,' says one account,[3] 'there is a deep pit of about 100 yards in diameter: it seems to have had greater buildings all round it, with the pillars and ruins of which it is now almost filled up . . . but . . . there is still water in it.' Chesney describes it as a rocky hollow,[4] and Hogarth mentions the scanty remains of a wall or revetment, with stairs at intervals.[5] The site and the cult have been described at length by Lucian and Macrobius, whose accounts reveal a remarkable survival of features doubtless Hittite in origin. Thus Lucian wrote of the sanctuary: 'In this shrine are placed statues, one of which is Hera, the other Zeus, though they are called by another name. Both are sitting; Hera is supported by lions, Zeus is sitting on bulls. Between the two there stands another image of gold, which possesses no special form of its own, but recalls characteristics of other gods.'

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[1] The site was located by a pilgrim in the fifth century. Cf. *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, xxxix. p. 61. Strabo (XVI. i. 18) gives the distance as four *schoeni* from the river.

[2] Mentioned by Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 45.

[3] Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (1749), p. 154.

[4] *Exped. Euphrat.*, i. 516.

[5] Hogarth, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xiv. (1907-8), p. 183.

This passage discloses the essential character of the cult, in which god and goddess, apparently mated, but in any case regarded as a pair and given the names of mated Greek divinities, are associated respectively with the bull and the lion. These are the familiar attributes of the Hittite deities, as we have learnt from the sculptures of Eyuk and Malatia,[1] and we have seen the ceremony of the divine union depicted in the sculptures at Boghaz-Keui.[2] Further illustration of the central sanctuary as it remained in the third century A.D. is provided by the coins of Hierapolis, and in particular we may refer to the coin now at Vienna of which we reproduce an illustration.[3] In this the god is seated upon a bull-throne, and the goddess, wearing the mural crown, sits on a lion-throne with staff and mace, the two forming a pair.[4]

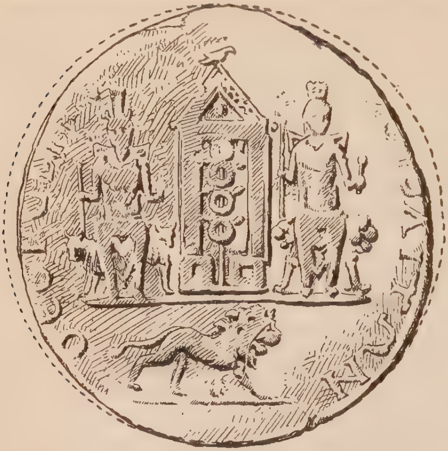

Fig. 42.—Syrian Goddess and Consort. From a Coin.

The descriptions of Macrobius,[5] while confirming the character of the central cult images, add several significant details. 'The Syrians,' he writes, 'give the name Adad to the God, whom they revere as first and greatest of all; his name signifies The One. They honour this god as all-powerful, but they associate with him the goddess Adargatis, and assign to these two divinities supreme power over everything. The statue of Adad is encircled by descending rays [evidently the lightning] . . . while the rays of the statue of Adargatis rise upwards, a sign that the power of the ascending rays brings to life everything which the earth produces. Below this statue are the figures of Lions, emblematic of the earth; for the same reason that the Phrygians so represent the Mother of the gods, that is to say the Earth, borne by Lions.'[1]

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[1] Pl. XXXVIII. and fig. 8.

[2] P. 116 and Pl. XXII.

[3] Supplied in 1912 by courtesy of Professor Kubilschek.

[4] In one respect this coin does not precisely illustrate Lucian's description, where he speaks of the object between the deities as recalling the characteristics of other gods (cap. 33), a reference which suggests the possibility that the original object may have been an altar of human form, similar to the draped altar pedestal at Fraktin, Pl. XLI.

[5] *Saturnalia*, xxiii., at the end.

Comparing these quotations we find the deity called Zeus by Lucian to be named Adad by Macrobius, and indeed 'Zeus-Hadad' is a fitting description of the Hittite deity Teshub. The goddess called with some hesitation Hera, as the consort of Zeus, by the one, was named definitely Atargatis by the other; disclosing the Mother-goddess herself in her local guise.[2] She is in any case our Mother Earth, whom we call in this volume the Mother-goddess. Among the Babylonian and northern Semites she was called Ishtar, the Ashtoreth of the Bible, the Astarte of Phoenicia. She was the nature goddess in whom the productive powers of the earth were personified, and her worship under various names and in various forms prevailed throughout all western Asia, from the dawn of history. The name given to her by Macrobius indicates her originally independent status, while that of Lucian reveals her as mated to the Hittite leading deity.

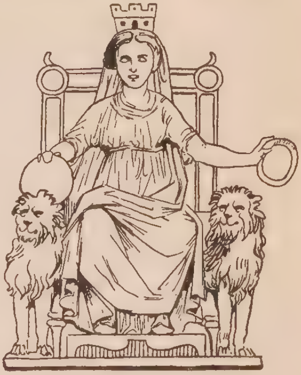
Fig. 43.—CYBELE IN ART.

In one respect it may be said that the goddess cannot in this case be strictly identified with Cybele of Asia Minor and her Hittite prototype because in the legend attached to the nature-goddess there is an associated youth. Yet there lurks in tradition a faint memory of a son to Atargatis.

Thus Xanthos relates[3] that Atargatis was taken prisoner by the Lydian Mopsus and thrown into the lake at Ascalon together with her son Ichthus, and there are other suggestions to the same effect.[1] If any doubt remains as to the historical origin of the Hierapolitan cult, it would be dispelled by the evidence of another coin, one of the earliest of the site (about 332 B.C.). On the face of this appears the picture and name of the goddess, while on the reverse is figured the priest-dynast of the age. His name is Abd-Hadad, the servant of Hadad. He is represented in a long priestly robe, and though certain details are lost owing to the wearing of the coin, the hat he wears is unmistakably the time-honoured conical hat distinctive of the Hittite peoples and their gods. This portrait is the more significant, in that this hat must already long have fallen into disuse except in such religious survivals. In short, the words of Lucian and Macrobius aptly describe the cult-images of the site as illustrated by the local coins. They are equally apposite to the chief Hittite god and goddess; and on one of the coins, features of the Hittite costume are found to survive, four hundred years after the final overthrow of the Hittite states in Northern Syria. We pass now in turn to consider the Hittite monuments of the area.

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[1] Cf. p. 114.

[2] This name, which appears at Ascalon as Derceto, is apparently an Aramaic compound of the Syrian and Cilician forms, '*Athar* and '*Ate*. Cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, p. 130, n. i; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alth.*, i. p. 247, § 205.

[3] *Athen.*, viii. 37.

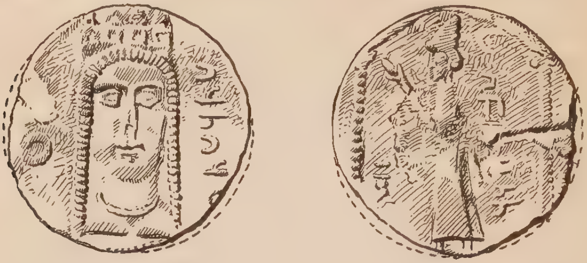

Fig. 44.—SYRIAN GODDESS AND HER PRIEST.
From a Coin.

As we have already observed, the mountain ranges, known to the Turks as the Kurt-Dagh and the Giaour Dagh (AMANUS), form the eastern and western boundaries of a broad valley which varies generally from ten to fifteen miles in width. Two rivers flow through this valley: one, called the Kara Su (Black Water), rises near Sakje-Geuzi, and struggles southwards through swamps and marshes until it finds a way into the lake which marks the confluence of the ORONTES and the Afrîn, not far from Antioch. The other river flows northwards to join the Jeihan, or PYRAMUS: it is called, in contrast, the Ak Su (White River), and the distinction is somewhat warranted, as it flows more quickly and the river bottom is more often stony and free from silt. The divide between the sources of these two rivers, lying just northwards from Sakje-Geuzi, contains large swamps, which in winter-time are united in a great shallow lake, draining into the Ak Su northwards. The whole 'valley' is thus really a narrow plain bounded by parallel ranges of mountains. It is not, however, altogether continuous, for here and there outlying hills and isolated ridges divide it into well-defined districts, each one at the present time claiming its own chief. The same divisions were operative no less in antiquity and there is now evidence to show that in the later Hittite period (1000 B.C.–850 B.C.), at any rate, the valley was correspondingly divided up into principalities or petty kingdoms. Sakje-Geuzi itself marks one such district; and Sinjerli was clearly the centre of another royal domain adjoining it, immediately to the south. In the opposite direction, at the head of the valley, placed at the foot of the Taurus mountains which close its northern end, is Marash, historically a royal seat, as its numerous monuments testify.

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[1] So Diodorus, ii. 4. Cf. Dussaud, *Rev. Arch.*, 1904, ii. p. 257. There is an interesting representation of the Syrian Triad in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (No. 83, 1912).

HADJI BEKLI.—Between Sakje-Geuzi and Marash, there is, however, another isolated open district, the chief village of which is now Bekli Keui; and here we have located a royal Hittite monument.[1]

This is a solid piece of dolerite measuring 120 cms. by 66 by 34. The face is flat, while the top and back are rounded. Notwithstanding its great weight it seems to have been brought from Choban Tepe, a mound about a kilometre distant towards the north-east. It is said that from the same mound other sculptured stones have at various times been taken to Marash.

The subject of the sculpture, which is carved in relief, shows a royal personage facing left, holding up with his outstretched left arm a hare or rabbit, while with his right hand he clasps the triangular-shaped bow which rests upon his shoulder. He wears the Hittite conical hat with bulbous top, familiar from other similar monuments of Northern Syria. He is heavily bearded, and his hair is dressed in a large curl behind the neck, in the style characteristic chiefly of Hittite art of the later period, after the tenth century B.C. The nose is strong and prominent, but the features are crudely represented. His dress is a long robe with short sleeves, broad waistband, and apparently a deep fringe round the bottom of the skirt. A long sword is attached to the belt. His royal rank is denoted, as usual, by a winged rosette above his head; but the most curious feature about the design is the fact that he stands, it would seem, upon the back of a short-tailed animal. What the animal was, unless it were a bull, is not at all evident, as a corner of the sculpture is here broken away and missing. From what is known of Hittite symbolism, however, such a position is an attribute of divinity. We must suppose that in this case, the king is represented as impersonating a god of the chase, and for such impersonation there is analogy in the sculptures of Sinjerli. However that may be, it seems incontestable from the evidence of this sculpture, and of other fragments found in the same mound, that this was another 'royal' site, similar in many respects to that of Sakje-Geuzi.

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[1] *Liv. A.A.*, iv. pp. 126 ff. and Pl. XXIII.

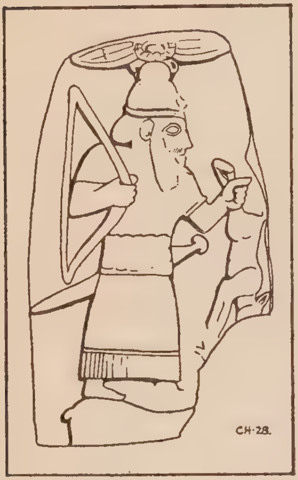

Fig. 45.
HUNTING-GOD, HADJI BEKLI.

KARA-BURSHLU is a village lying an hour northward from Sinjerli at the foot of Mount AMANUS, and on the way down from the mountains by one of the chief local descents called significantly Arslan Boghaz (Lion Gorge). Above this village there towers a steep knoll, on the summit of which an interesting carved monument was found by members of the first Berlin expedition to Sinjerli.[1] The subject of the relief is a ceremonial feast, similar in its general features to others observed in the locality at Sinjerli,[1] Sakje-Geuzi, Marash and Malatia, and in Asia Minor at Boghaz-Keui (Iasily Kaya) and Yarre. Its special importance is found in certain variations, for it seems to have been inscribed on both sides and on the top; while, below, there are the remains of a pedestal, on which it must have been designed to stand.[2] Thus it could not have been intended for a building stone, nor is there any suggestion that it was an old stone re-used. Its height is three feet seven inches, its width three feet, and the pedestal is preserved to a length of about five inches with a width of eighteen inches. Unfortunately the stone was found in a poor state of preservation, and could not be moved, so that we have to rely chiefly on sketches and impressions taken on the spot by the discoverers. These, however, were executed with great skill, and it is the fault rather of the condition of the monument that more of the inscription cannot be made out. As it is, only part of four rows from the right-hand side have been published; but there seem to have been originally six rows on each side and at least one row on the top. The letters are all incised. The sculpture is in relief, and represents two figures seated on either side of a low table, similar to one another and *vis-à-vis*. The hair of the one seems to be short, and of the other curled. Their shoes turn upwards at the toe. Their robes are long and fringed, reaching to the ankles, and there is a belt (partly at least) around the waist. Each raises the further hand with something in it to the level of the mouth. The nearer elbow is drawn back in a natural position, and a staff is suggested in the hand. The chairs are square-cornered and straight-legged, twice as high as broad, with spindles to match, and low backs, the upper bars of which are thicker and rounded behind. The table is of familiar shape, rather squeezed in the drawing. The top seems to be round, and the curved legs (which are probably three in number) cross one another at about two-thirds of their height, forming a tripod. The feet of the legs are ornamented, probably but not clearly, as animals' feet. Upon the table are five flat circular objects (if we interpret the perspective of the drawing rightly) like native loaves of bread, and upon them are two small pear-shaped objects.

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[1] *C.I.H.* (1900, 5), Pl. XXVI. 1, 2, and *ibid.* (1900, 4), p. 20.

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[1] The illustration of the Sinjerli scene, Pl. XLIV., explains the subject in general: only at Sakje-Geuzi one of the figures is standing, in the other cases both are seated.

[2] Compare in shape and subject the 'gravestone of an Aramaic Queen,' eighth century B.C., Berlin Museum (*Vorderasiatische Abteilung*, No. 2995). The shape corresponds also with that of the monument from Samsat (above, p. 234); and of the stela of Nabonidus from Mujelibeh now at Constantinople, published by Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, xviii. 1, 2 (Paris, 1896).

The class of sculpture to which this monument belongs is to be distinguished in our opinion from that in which one of the personages represented is clearly more exalted than the other,[1] hence presumably the lord or master to whom a servant ministers; whereas in these, the persons seem to be on an equality, and both share in the feast. The suggestion of a 'funerary feast'[2] as the explanation of this and similar sculptures seems most natural, but the difficulty in accepting this in every case arises from the fact that at Sinjerli one such scene forms part of a mural decoration, and others elsewhere seem clearly to be carved on building blocks. This difficulty suggests the explanation that the scenes in these cases were originally commemorative of some religious rite of a funerary character, though not actually tombstones.[3]

SAKJE-GEUZI.—One of the most interesting monuments of this kind is found at Sakje-Geuzi, lying by a marsh not far from Songrus Eyuk.[4] We may appropriately describe it at this point. The stone is preserved to a height of twenty-seven inches. The carving is very weathered, but its main features may be readily made out. The figure on the left is seated, with hands stretched out towards the table; while that on the opposite side stands facing the other, with hands forward as though in the act of serving.[5] The dresses seem to be long robes; that of the standing figure may be bordered or fringed. The hair of the seated figure ends in a bunched curl. The chair is straight-legged as before, only the back is higher, and while curving very slightly backwards does not thicken but rather tends to taper. The table is better drawn than in the last instance; the curve and crossing of the legs is more clear; but the third leg is shown in each case stopping short at the junction, possibly because the artist thought the curve took it out of the plane of the sculpture. The objects upon the table cannot be identified: the one which seems to be proffered by the left hand of the standing figure is round and set upright; the other is small and T-shaped.

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[1] Such as are to be seen at Sakje-Geuzi and Aleppo, and in one instance at Marash.

[2] Unfortunately there seem to have been no soundings made for a much-wanted Hittite necropolis. On the possible evolution of the motive in general, see p. 149.

[3] On this point see p. 250, and cf. Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier* (Strassburg, 1898), p. 166; and Crowfoot, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xix. pp. 42, 43.

[4] Published in *Liv. A.A.*, i. Pl. XLV., and pp. 101-2. There is a cast at the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology.

[5] Cf. the monuments of this class from Marash, above, and the stela of Nerab, a Phoenician monument of the ninth century B.C. (of which a good photograph is published by Ball, *Light from the East*, to face p. 236).

KURTS-OGHLU.—The monument recorded from this site is of peculiar interest, being part of a sculpture in the round.[1] This was found in a large rubbish-mound at Amk near Kurts-oghlu, a village not far from the GINDARUS of Roman times upon the Afrîn. It is now in the Berlin Museum.[2] It consists of the lower part of a statue, which represented a somewhat stolid person standing, clad in a long skirt, below which the toes protrude. An inscription is incised in two rows of Hittite hieroglyphs around the front and sides of the skirt at the bottom, beginning from behind the right-hand side. The uninscribed space behind is filled with four vertical folds, descending from the waist, which seems to be encircled with a belt. The upper part of the body is broken away, leaving only the position of one elbow, which was bent, but it seems to have been clad in a garment which descended in front and behind, below the thighs. The height of the preserved portion of the statue is sixteen inches, and the width at the bottom ten inches. Dr. Messerschmidt notes with regard to the inscription that an attempt seems to have been made to add a third line, which was abandoned possibly owing to lack of room, and the signs added were then effaced with cross-lines. It remains probable, none the less, that these extra words were essential to complete the sense of the inscription.[3]

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[1] *C.I.H.* (1900), Pl. VII. and p. 8.

[2] Vorderas. Abteilung, No. 3009.

[3] *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.*, (1900) pt. iv. p. 8. There has been observed in the museum at Alexandretta another inscribed object from this region, possibly from Marash. It is a small stone inscribed on both sides, of

Shelgin stands on a wild rocky upland between the valley of the Kara Su and Killiz. The ground is scarred with numerous water-courses, by one of which is the village. 'Between Shelgin and Rowanduz Kale, not far from another village called Lohan, in an isolated cemetery, there has been noticed a narrow headstone, about eighteen inches in height, inscribed with Hittite hieroglyphs.'[1]

In the same vicinity, but up another valley called the Jengil Su, 'on the east bank of a streamlet that joins the main stream from the right, and lying by the side of a path as though washed out by rain, there has been seen a stone carved as the head of a lion or panther. In shape a rough square, it was about thirty inches in height and made as in the former case of the local volcanic rock.'[1]

Aintab, one day's march eastward from Sakje-Geuzi, lies at the juncture of two main routes, the one from Cilicia eastward across the Euphrates, the other from Marash southward by Killiz to Aleppo. It is somewhat surprising therefore that there has come to light no evidence of Hittite work other than a single granite corner-stone.[2] This is a cubical block, about twenty inches in height, inscribed on the one face, and sculptured on the adjoining side to the right. The inscription is in three panels, of which the middle one is complete and enclosed by a border; the lowest lacks the left-hand corner at the bottom, and the uppermost is suggested only by traces of the lowest signs within it. The sculptured side is not at all complete. That which remains shows the right leg of a man from thigh to knee. The dress seems to be a short tunic, the lowest edge of which seems to be curled up behind. The position of the leg and dress suggest several points of interest in attempting a restoration of the attitude. The figure must have been about life-size, and posed for action with left leg forward; not as in running but rather as if walking quickly, or possibly hurling a spear, with the muscles of the leg strung up to give the final impetus to the throw.

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which one is flat and the other convex. The four rows of hieroglyphs in relief are preserved on either side, while portions of a fifth are visible, for a part of the object is broken away. Its width is 9½ inches, and the height of what is preserved 14 inches (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*).

[1] Information of the late Dr. Sheppard of Aintab.

[2] Cf. *Liv. A.A.*, i. (1908), Pls. x., xi., p. 8 and fig. p. 7. Several important small objects have been secured at Aintab.

This monument, though incomplete in itself, has a special importance, for the costume and technique reflect the definitely Ḫattic art and workmanship of the Imperial age.

We pass now to the valley of the Euphrates, our eastern boundary. Numerous ancient sites line the river's course, and many of these must date their origins to Hittite times. Some which have preserved evidence of the fact in their own monuments have already been mentioned, notably Gerger and Samsat in COMMAGENE. Others, the history of which awaits the excavator's spade, mark the sites of ancient shrines or of permanent crossings of the river. Three of these, Birejik, Carchemish and Tell-Ahmar, claim our special attention as one-time Hittite sites; and several others have preserved some trace. We pass these in review from the North of Carchemish towards the South.

RUM KALE, some thirty miles above Carchemish, claims a fragment of sculpture which M. Perrot apparently included in his catalogue of Hittite monuments, though he described it as uncouth.[1] It certainly betrays a crude hand and little skill in the effort to portray the human figure. We fail to find in this piece any clear indication of Hittite work, and dismiss it, with this bare mention, from further consideration.

BIREJIK, some fifteen miles above Jerablus, had long supplanted the site of Carchemish as the favourite crossing of the river, though the changed circumstances of to-day, with bridge and railroad, have caused a return to the ancient spot. From this place there comes a curious monument of indefinite origin, now in the British Museum under the title 'Monolith of a King.' Although there is no clear evidence that it is of Hittite handiwork, it presents several suggestive features, including the long fringed robe, mirror, and mace, and more particularly the winged disc with horse-shoe ornament above the figure, as in the emblems which designate the priest-king at Boghaz-Keui.[2]

KELLEKLI lies some eight miles only above Carchemish, and here we come into contact with undoubted Hittite work. Near the village and bank of the Euphrates there rises a small flat-topped mound, whereon in 1908 the late

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[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, fig. 283, first published in *Gazette Arch.* (1883), Pl. XXII.

[2] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 62, fig. 278.

Mr. Hogarth observed a stela. It is of black basalt, and measures forty-five by sixteen by nine inches. The feet of the figure are broken, but the tips of upturned toes are visible. Ten minutes to the north of the village, on a low rise, lay a second stela, also of black basalt, and broken both above and below ; the preserved part shows the lower halves of two figures opposed. That on the left hand wears a tunic reaching to the knees, that on the right, drapery to the ankles. Beneath the figures is a band of rope moulding, and below this again a four-line text in relief running round three sides of the stela, and beginning evidently on the spectator's right. The middle of the text on the front of the stela was found almost completely effaced by wear, the stone having seemingly been used as a threshold. A few doubtful symbols could be seen in the third line, but the sides were in better condition, and the hieroglyphs preserved are of standard Hittite character.[1]

As we pass by Carchemish towards the South, one area in particular claims attention. This lies northwards of Membij, along the course of the Sajur River and near its mouth. Here are a series of ancient city mounds, among which the acropolis of Tell Bashar was described by the late Mr. Hogarth as the most imposing of all those he had seen in Northern Syria.[2] Numerous small objects of Hittite or Syro-Hittite character have been traced to this place and its neighbours, of which Tell Abiad and Tell Khalid were singled out for mention by that explorer. From the latter point downwards, almost to the mouth of the river Sajur, the river bank is dotted with a long series of smaller mounds, from one to three miles apart. The whole area was evidently in Hittite times a scene of life and activity. From the river's mouth a number of mounds are visible on the farther bank of the Euphrates, and the nearest of these, Tell-Ahmar, claims our attention.

TELL-AHMAR is outlined by a string of low-lying mounds, which mark the course of its ancient fortifications, and enclose in the crescent an area larger than that of Carchemish itself. Here a number of Hittite monuments were observed by Mr. Hogarth and placed on record,[1] and some of these are of special character and interest.

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[1] Hogarth, *Liv. A.A.* (1909), ii. p. 172. Published also with an independent copy by the Cornell Expedition, *op. cit.*, p. 48, and Pl. xxv. under the local name Shera.

[2] Hogarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 176.

(*a*) In the city wall are two well-marked gaps; and in the more easterly of these lie two broken winged lions of rude style. The heads are sculptured in the round, but the bodies are not detached from the block: the wings are merely incised on the flanks. The better preserved, that on the west side of the gate, stood when erect one hundred and seven inches from forepaw to ear. The head alone measures forty-seven inches from ear to jaw-point. The jaws gape; and there is a ruff round the neck. On its inner, *i.e.* right side, was a long cuneiform inscription, now practically illegible. The eastern lion has the left side (which was the inner one in its case) inscribed likewise, but the text, though broken, is in a better state of preservation. It records no place-name, but is probably of the period Shalmaneser II.[2] (*c.* 1015 B.C.).

(*b*) Just inside the gate, in a shallow excavation, lay part of a large round-headed stela in black basalt, which shows the head and upper half of a male figure wearing a low but pointed hat and bearing a broken object in his clenched fist. From the peak of the hat to the point of the beard, the figure measures thirty-five inches; but the head is much worn. A second fragment lying near shows the rest of the figure, draped to the feet. A third fragment, much defaced, has the head of a smaller figure, wearing a similar head-dress. There are three other fragments of relief, too small and imperfect for their character to appear. The large figure seems to have stood more than nine feet high.

(*c*) Another gap in the line of wall occurs about half-way to the river, and on a low rise to the left, a hundred metres outside the wall, lie six broken blocks of black basalt, in and about a shallow excavation the soil out of which has been thrown up all round. Five of these bear Hittite symbols in relief on one or more of their faces, and three of them sculptures also, these being a portion of a bull and of a male figure with upturned shoes, whose feet rest on the bull's head and back. All belong to a single oblong stela, which still lacks, however, some parts. The scene, reconstituted, shows the elbow and lower half of a draped male figure, facing left and standing on a bull, a fragment of whose head only is preserved. This god is apparently the same as that of Malatia. This stela, when complete, must have measured nearly seven feet in height, and about three feet each way round the base.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 178-82, with Pls. XXXVII.-XL.

[2] Translated by the late Mr. L. W. King, *Liv. A.A.*, *loc. cit.* ii. p. 185.

(*d*) The following uninscribed slabs, now lying in and near the village, were also recorded by Mr. Hogarth. They are said to have been found on the acropolis.

(i) A large block on the river bank south-west of the village, measuring forty-four by thirty-one by seventeen inches, but much worn. It shows two horse-demons rampant on either side of a conventional palm tree. One foreleg of each, ending in a human hand, grasps a frond of the tree just below the spring of the main plume. The other forelegs rest on the trunk lower down. Both horses wear headstalls.

(ii) A broken slab of black basalt just over three feet in length, worn nearly smooth. It shows two draped figures moving towards one another. That on the spectator's left shows a straight falling robe with fringe; that on the right, a skirt projecting forwards. Both persons wear upturned shoes. This slab was seen in the village itself.

(iii) A basalt slab of T-shape built into a house. The broadest part measures nearly three feet. It shows a small bull moving to right. The animal is in a less heavy style than the bull on the inscribed stela.

(iv) A broken basalt slab lying in the open, west of the village; measuring some three feet square, but also much worn. It shows two figures, clad in tunics to the knee and upturned shoes, moving to right, and holding in both hands some objects not now clearly to be distinguished, but probably sacrificial offerings. The hair of both falls in curls on their backs. This slab is probably part of a series to which belongs also No. ii, above.

(v) A broken basalt block built into a door-jamb, and measuring nineteen-and-a-half by twelve-and-a-half inches. It shows a forearm and hand rising from a boss, and the hand of the other arm, which rose from the same boss. The hands are empty.

(vi) A basalt block showing a winged and eagle-headed (?) genius in a well-known Assyrian attitude.

Being informed that a broken slab, showing the legs of a man, existed some distance to the south near the river bank, the late Miss Gertrude Bell made inquiries in 1909, and halfway to the village of Kubbeh found a large white stone which bore traces of ornament, now indistinguishable, and a fragmentary Hittite inscription in relief. Her copy shows several well-known Hittite characters. Nearer to Kubbeh she came to a mound on which was lying the head of a stone lion, and, by digging, she found the body and legs carved in relief. The whole beast is of the same type as the gate lions at Tell-Ahmar.

Though the special interest of these monuments of Tell-Ahmar and its vicinity has drawn us across the Euphrates, we regard this river none the less as our eastward boundary. It is true that certain monuments are found beyond this landmark that bear strong resemblance to Hittite work, notably those of Tell Halaf, at Ros el Ain. But the exploration of the land of Mitanni has not yet proceeded far enough to enable us to distinguish the local arts. Mitanni and Ḫatti were in some ways akin, but we cannot yet determine the precise nature of their kinship. Consequently the sculptures and monuments of Mesopotamia cannot, for the time being, be included in our purview, and will only enter the study of Hittite artistic relations when the points of contact emerge more clearly to view.

(*b*) Central Syria

ALEPPO, HAMATH, RESTAN, MISHREFEH (QATNA), TELL NEBI MINDU (KADESH), SHEIKH SÂD (DAMASCUS)

Central Syria ranges from Aleppo in the North to Damascus in the South. The chief feature of this area is the valley of the Orontes River upon which are situated Hamath, Restan and Homs, while at its sources is found the mound of historic Kadesh, now called Tell Nebi Mindu.[1] Recent discovery has added to the list the great enclosure of

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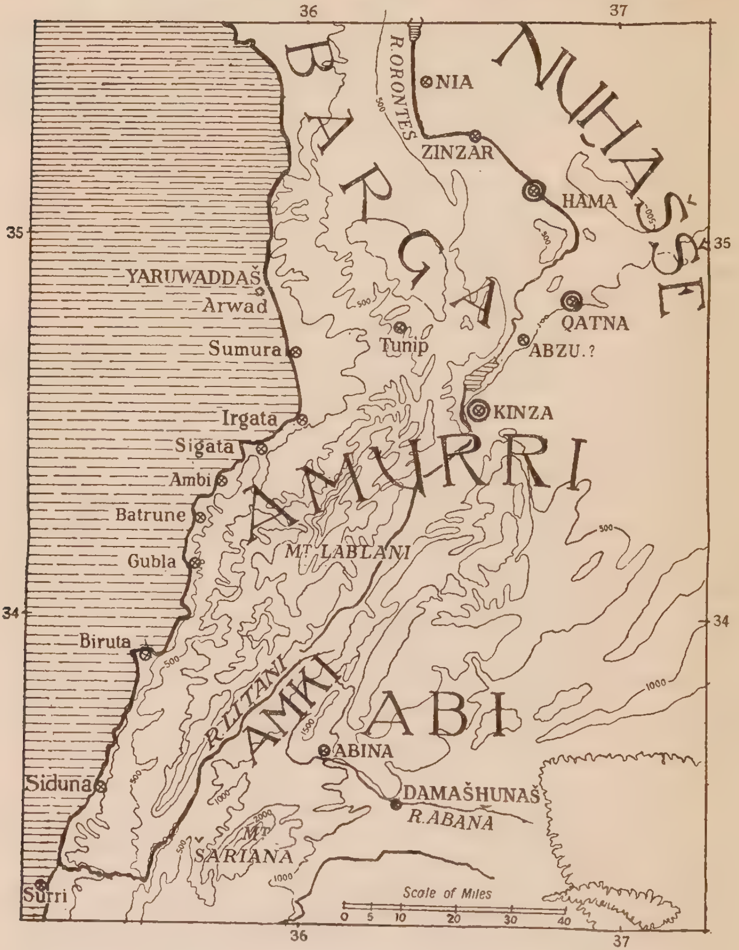
[1] This site, called Kinza by the Hittites and Kodshe by the Egyptians, marks one of the redoubtable Amorite strongholds of the period.

Mishrifeh which lies some thirteen miles north-east from Homs, and is identified by inscriptions found in it with *Qatna*. The presence of Hittite monuments is in itself a sufficient proof of Hittite penetration, but there is also clear evidence of their political intervention in this area from the Ḫattic records of the fourteenth century B.C. The narrative of Subbiluliuma's conquests makes mention of some of these


36
37
NIA
R. ORONTES
500
ZINZAR
NUHAŠŠE
BARGA
HAMA
35
YARUWADDAŠ
Arwad
Sumura
Tunip
QATNA
ABZU.?
KINZA
Irgata
Sigata
Ambi
Batrune
AMURRI
MT LABLANI
Gubla
34
Biruta
R. LITANI
AMKI
ABI
1000
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ABINA
Siduna
DAMAŠHUNAŠ
R. ABANA
2000
MT SARIANA
Surri
Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40

Central Syria, 1375 B.C.: from the Ḫattic Archives and Amarna Letters.

places, notably *Ḫalab* (Aleppo) and *Qatna* itself; and a comparison of the documents of this age with those of Tell-el-Amarna enables us to reconstruct a map of the area in which some places mentioned are fixed points, while others can be located more or less definitely from their associations. There is also evidence of Hittite political intervention on the coastlands of Central Syria, where the state of *Barga* seems to have extended inland far enough to comprise the northern range of mountains which was in fact called Bargylus in classical times. The chief city of this state was, however, an island fortress, frequently mentioned by the Egyptians as Arwad, a name which has survived all political changes to this day. The Hittites prefixed to it a breathing and added a case-ending, which transformed it under a thin disguise into *Yaruwaddas*. It comes into prominence in an interesting political document which recites the judgment of the Ḫattic king in the matter of certain difficulties that had arisen between Arwad and Carchemish, and narrates, after the Hittite style, an outline of previous events, in which the Amorite chieftains of Central Syria took a leading part. No Hittite monuments have been recorded, however, upon the coastlands; and it is clear that these states were hardly affected in their culture by the suzerainty of the Ḫattic kings.

Aleppo.—The fine mediaeval Turkish castle now completely covers the bold acropolis which probably marks the beginnings of the city and the site of the stronghold sacked by the Ḫattic king Mursil I. in the infancy of the nation.[1] For this reason, we suppose, few monuments of this ancient and important city are on record. Such as there are, however, appear to be characteristic of Hittite art, and some may date from the Ḫattic period. The most conspicuous is a basaltic lion, doubtless once the corner-stone of a palace. This is now to be seen built into a ruined structure in the castle.[2] Another is the lower part of an eagle, carved also in basalt, and recalling in some ways the eagle of Yamoola. It is preserved in the French consulate of Aleppo. The third monument is a basalt stela now in a private collection.

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[1] Pl. LI.; cf. above, p. 2; *A.J.S.L.* (1921), No. 5, p. 188.

[2] This and the two following monuments were placed on record by the late Mr. D. G. Hogarth and Miss Gertrude Bell, *Liv. A.A.* (1909), Pl. XLII.

This is uninscribed, but it is decorated with a feast scene, which differs in character from the obviously funerary slabs found elsewhere. The two persons represented, one on either side of a square table, seem to be both male. Both are clad in long robes of Syrian style. The larger one is represented seated on a square-backed chair. His hair is bunched behind the neck and his beard is dressed in long curls, as in the later art of Sinjerli and Carchemish. His robe is fringed and apparently embroidered. He holds up a cup towards a smaller cup-like object held in the right hand of the smaller figure. The theme is not readily interpreted, for though one person is smaller than the other he does not seem to be ministering to the greater one but sharing in the feast.

The one inscribed monument of Aleppo is carved in relief in a single panel upon a block of basalt, nearly two feet six inches long and one foot six inches high.[1] When seen originally it was built into the south wall of an old mosque, and was regarded with special superstition by the native people, who ascribed to it powers of curing ophthalmia. The smooth-rubbed nature of the surface of the stone may be partly ascribed to the devotions of the afflicted, who were wont to rub their affected eyes upon it. When attention was drawn to the character and archaeological importance of this monument, it was hastily removed, and reported as broken. Rather more than twenty years later, however, it was discovered,[2] built again into the wall of a mosque, where we obtained a new photograph. The signs are too worn to transcribe with certainty, and the inscription is too incomplete to be of much present use for comparative study.

HAMATH has grown up where the main road from the North enters the Orontes valley. This river, in characteristic fashion, flows for the most part deep below the level of the surrounding plains; and Hamath is found at a spot where the banks widen out, so that the town is in a hollow, almost surrounded by escarpments formed of the steep banks and the broken edges of the plain. Though picturesque, the present site is overlooked and exposed, and in general can have had little strategic importance, even in

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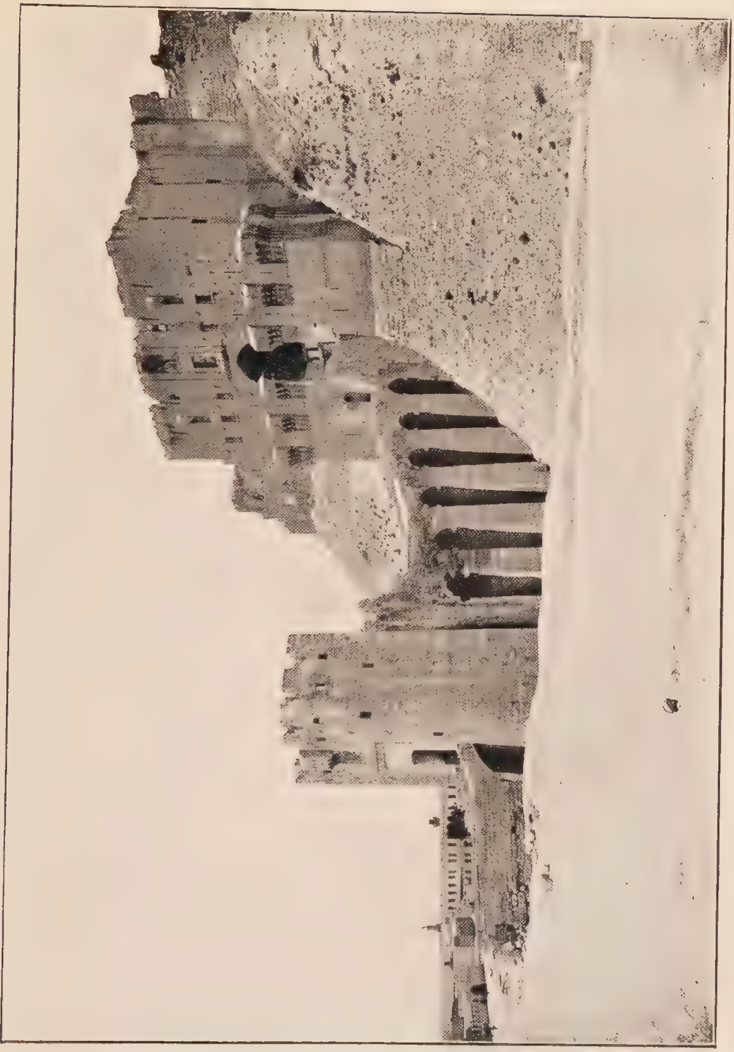
[1] *C.I.H.*, Pl. III. A, text, p. 4 (*Mitteilungen*, etc., 1900, 4, 5), and *Proc. S.B.A.*, v. (1883), p. 146.

[2] See *Liv. A.A.*, i. p. 8, Pl. IX. 3; and cf. *Proc. S.B.A.* (June 1908).

To face p. 320.

PLATE LI



ALEPPO (ONCE THE HEART OF A GREAT KINGDOM): ENTRANCE TO THE MEDIÆVAL FORTRESS.

antiquity. Hence it probably came into being in Hittite times as a halting-place upon the main road through Syria, and as a centre for the surrounding agricultural districts. The original Hittite stronghold would seem to have been more securely placed; this probably covered the broad-topped mound [1] which marks, in the manner so familiar in old Syrian towns, the beginnings of the city. Doubtless this would be surrounded at a certain stage with a wall, as was the fashion of those days; and later, on the analogy of Sinjerli, the population would overspread the limits of the enclosure, and settle in times of quiet on the more tempting ground at the foot of the acropolis. In this development, and in the nature of its situation, Hamath shares largely the general features of many Syrian sites.[2]

As early as 1812 a black basaltic block built into the corner of one of the houses in a bazaar attracted the eye of a famous traveller [3] by reason of the strange-looking hieroglyphic signs upon it. Sixty years later other stones came to light in various spots,[4] some of them actually built into modern walls. All were regarded with veneration by the inhabitants,[5] and it was with great difficulty that they were removed to a place of safety in 1872 by the Turkish Governor through the active foresight of Dr. Wright, supported by the British Consul.

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[1] Thought by Miss Gertrude Bell to have been artificially separated from the ridge, of which it seems like a projecting headland. See *The Desert and the Sown* (London, 1905), p. 223. The same work may be consulted for modern interests of this remarkable Arab town.

[2] The place was known in Egyptian as *Amatu* in the lists of Thothmes III. (fifteenth century B.C.); but Hamath, in any form, is curiously inconspicuous in the Ḫattic records. Nîa (*Neya*) appears to have been the most important city on the way southwards towards *Qatna* (cf. Weidner, 8 *Bo. Stu.*, pp. 10-11, ll. 30 ff.).

[3] Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822), p. 149.

[4] For the progress and vicissitudes of the attempts to obtain a record of the Hamath stones, consult Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites*; Burton, *Unexplored Syria*, and the Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund (1871-2-3); and for a connected account, Sayce, *The Hittites* (1925), pp. 78 ff.

[5] One in particular, long in shape, had virtues for the rheumatic, who stretched themselves upon it. The Aleppo stone was regarded as effective for ophthalmia; and some superstition clings to nearly all such remains when they have long been known to village communities. In Egypt any monument of stone, even a stela newly found but of guaranteed antiquity, is particularly sought out by barren women, who seem to have a definite formula and ritual to observe—one of these acts is to cross and recross the stone, if possible, seven times each way without turning the eyes to right or left.

The inscriptions are five in number,[1] whereof two are on adjacent sides of the same block of stone. The first was found in the wall of a house; it measures nearly fifteen inches in height and thirteen inches in length.[2] The inscription is in three lines and begins at the top right-hand side, with the symbol of the human arm and head, with finger touching the lips, a sign which indicates the beginning of a first personal declaration. On the analogy of other hieroglyphic systems, the signs face always towards the commencement of the inscription. In this way the character of Hittite inscriptions may be recognised as *boustrophedon*, turning alternately in direction with the successive rows, like oxen ploughing in a field. The second row in this case must be read then towards the right. The most noticeable sign is the royal head-dress, which is conical and drawn always with a midrib.[3] Below the first example of this sign there occurs the freely used determinative of a locality; it is oval in shape, and is to be distinguished by details from a similar symbol indicating sanctity or divinity.[4] The groups of hieroglyphs are divided by appropriate signs separating the words.

There seems to be little variation between the texts of this inscription and two others from the same place.[5] Of these, No. 2 is an inscription likewise in three lines, lacking only a few signs at the end. The stone measures nearly twenty inches in length by fifteen inches in height; it was found built into the wall of a garden. The inscribed end of the third stone (that which was looked on as possessed with virtue for the rheumatic) is only just eleven inches in

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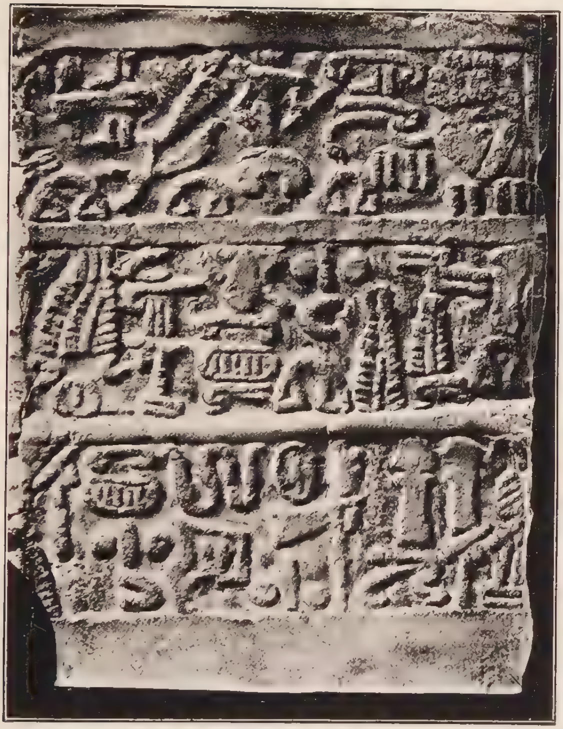
[1] *C.I.H.* (*Mitteilungen, etc.*, 1900, 5), Pls. III. B; IV. A, B; V., VI., and text (1900, 4), pp. 6-8. Also Wright, *op. cit.*, Pls. I.-IV., pp. 139-41.

[2] Being a characteristic specimen and of historical interest we reproduce this monument in Pl. LII.

[3] This feature distinguishes this sign from the determinative of a district, represented as a conical hill.

[4] See for example the groups of symbols accompanying the divine figures at Boghaz-Keui, Pl. XXII.

[5] A reading of No. 1 was tentatively put forward by Sayce, *Proc. S.B.A.* (1903), p. 354; but this must be revised in the light of the new reading of No. 2, and the note on one of the signs of No. 1, in *Proc. S.B.A.* (Nov., 1905), p. 218.



HAMATH: INSCRIPTION IN THREE LINES OF HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS CARVED IN RELIEF, ONE OF THE SO-CALLED 'HAMATHIC' INSCRIPTIONS.

See pp. 320 *ff.*

The photograph is taken from a paper impression.

height, with a width the same as in the former instance. There are two lines of inscription preserved. The largest stone of all was found built into the corner of a small shop; its height is just over two feet, and its length three feet in front. It is cubical, with a thickness or depth of at least fifteen inches. It was probably a corner-stone in antiquity also, for it is inscribed on the front and on the left-hand side.[1] The signs, as in the other cases, are in relief. The inscription is not continuous around the corner, for in front are five rows, which begin to read from the right, while by the side are four rows only, beginning from the left. The depth of the rows is the same in each case. The face inscription is considerably worn and damaged, and a portion of the last line missing; while the side-inscription is also rubbed away at the edges.[2]

RESTAN lies in the valley of the ORONTES between Hamath and Homs. The modern site shows no indication of ancient origin; but about three miles to the north there rises a small Tell, and just to the north of this has been found a black obelisk inscribed with two lines of hieroglyphs in strong relief. The object is nearly seven feet long, eighteen inches wide and eleven inches deep, being cleft down the middle. The exact site of discovery is rather more than half a mile to the east of the modern Circassian village of Zahr el Asy.[3] No doubt this area by the Orontes was included in the post-Ḫattic kingdom (possibly Ḫattina) of which Hamath was the leading city.

EL MISHREFEH (*QATNA*).—Interest in this place has been long awakened by the letters which its chief, the faithful Akizzi, wrote to the Pharaoh at Tell-el-Amarna, announcing the imminent menace of the Hittite invasions and foreshadowing disaster if not relieved in time. He further disclosed the attempts of Itakama of *KINZA* to seduce him from his allegiance;[4] he remained true, however, to the Pharaoh; and with him there remained faithful the kings of Nuḫasse, Ni and Zinzar. The sequel, already to be inferred, is described in the Ḫattic records of Subbiluliuma's Syrian campaign, in a context which alludes in parallel fashion to the king of Ni, to Nuḫasse, and to Itakama of *Kinza*.[1] Akizzi seems to have escaped in time; but *Qatna* was taken and looted by Subbiluliuma and a rich booty was sent to *Ḫattusas*.

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[1] Cf. the Aintab stone above, p. 312. Also the corner-stones *in situ* at Eyuk, Pl. xxx. and fig. 8.

[2] These monuments are now to be seen at Constantinople, in the Ottoman Museum (Nos. 831, 832, etc.).

[3] R. P. Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de la Faculté Or. de Beyrouth*, III. (1908), ii. pp. 794-6. Also Sayce, *S.B.A.* (1909), p. 259.

[4] Winckler, *Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, No. 139, etc.

Excavations made by French archaeologists now show that Qatna occupied the great fortified enclosure of Mishrefeh, twelve miles N.E. of Homs.[2] This is not a city-mound of the usual Syrian type, but a vast defended camp, about 1000 yards square,[3] surrounded by steep ramparts of beaten earth some fifty feet in height. Openings in these fortifications, generally near the middle of each side, seem to indicate the original entrances; while in the interior there have been disclosed a series of buildings aligned as on a street. Two of these buildings appear to have been sanctuaries: there have been found basins and columns of basalt; also a number of dressed slabs (like orthostats), though devoid of sculptures. The traces of Hittite work are indeed rare. Some masonry with 'joggle' ties, and drafted stone building blocks, are reminiscent of the capital; while a large slab cornerpiece resembles a similar feature at Carchemish. On the other hand, the sack of the city by Subbiluliuma (about 1380 B.C.), while leaving marked traces in the soil, brought the term of the city's greatness to an end. Previous to that epoch, the culture of the city was not Ḫattic; its affinities were indeed rather Babylonian. A great tomb deposit, it is true, contained a number of vases of pottery resembling in some respects those of Kara Eyuk,[4] and others of the 'champagne cup' variety recall the vicinity of Carchemish. Many of the specimens, by comparison with the established criteria of Palestine, pertain to the Middle Bronze Age, with a smaller proportion of the first part of the Late Bronze Age—ranging then in general terms from 1800 to 1400 B.C. To this extent, then, the culture of Qatna was that of Syria, with its traces of Hittite influence; but an older and imposing contact with the east of the Euphrates was indicated by the contents of some cuneiform tablets. Some were found below the level of the sanctuary floor (belonging therefore to an earlier structure), and others within the sanctuary itself, though apparently broken and to some extent dispersed before the great catastrophe. The language of these is Accadian;[1] Hittite words are rare, Egyptian nil, and there is one word only in 'Hebrew.' They contain, among other records, an inventory of the treasure of Nin-Egal, 'Lady of the City of Qatna,' a cult which must date back in its inception to the Third Dynasty of Ur (*c.* 2300 B.C.). A second inventory describes the 'treasure of the gods of the King,' hence presumably of more local attributes. The treasure included objects of gold and lapis lazuli, silver, bronze and copper; but iron was very rare. To sum up the results of these excavations, a series of well-marked epochs in the history of this stronghold is indicated by dateable remains.[2] Its origin goes back possibly to the third millennium B.C., in the Early Bronze Age, as judged by remains on the rocky scarp around and below the modern church, followed (about 2300-2100) by the erection of the temple to Nin-Egal. To the Middle Bronze Age (2000 B.C.) pertain the tablets giving the inventories of the successive temples. The great fortified camp was now in being, and relations with Egypt are demonstrated by the discovery of two Egyptian sphinxes, whereof one bears the name of Ita, daughter of Amenemhat II. (*c.* 1938-1904 B.C.), the third monarch of the Twelfth Dynasty. To the latter end of this period (*i.e.* from 1800 to 1600 B.C.) pertain, in our opinion, a large proportion of the pottery vessels recovered in the great tomb depository. To the early part of the Late Bronze Age belong another series, characterised by the infiltration of western motives, at first from Cyprus and later (*c.* 1400 B.C.) from Mykenae and the Aegean. Then came the shock of Subbiluliuma's vengeance upon the loyal Akizzi, after which Qatna never recovered its former importance.

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[1] 1 *K.Bo.* 1, obv. ll. 37, etc. Cf. Weidner, *Pol. Dok.*, i. p. 13.

[2] *Les Ruines d'El Mishrifé*, par le Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Syria*, vii. (1926), pp. 289 ff.; viii. (1927), pp. 13 ff., etc. For previous description of the site see further, Van Berchem, *Journal Asiatique* (1895), pt. ii., esply. p. 496, n. 1 (with description of a 'curious head'), and the same explorer in *Voyage en Syrie*, i. pp. 166 ff. Also Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria*, (1872), ii. pp. 162-3; and Ronzevalle, *Le Camp retranché d'El Mishrifé Mélanges de la Faculté Or. de Beyrouth*, t. VII. pp. 109-10.

[3] Compare the description of the Hazor camp, below, p. 328.

[4] *Syria, loc. cit.*, Pls. VIII.-XIII. Cf. above, p. 219.

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[1] Ch. Virolleaud, in *Syria*, vol. ix. (1918), p. 90 f.

[2] Cf. Dussaud, *Syria*, ix. (1928), p. 134.

However, in the Early Iron Age (soon after 1200 B.C.) a partial reoccupation of the site is indicated by renewed activities upon the central hill; and this seems to accord with the Egyptian allusion to the Camp in Amor,[1] set up by the migrant peoples whom Ramses III. ultimately repulsed from the Egyptian frontier in Syria.

TELL NEBI-MINDU (KADESH).—The strategic position of this mound on the upper ORONTES, commanding the main descent to the sea-coast by the valley of the Nahr el Kebîr, and the eastward route past the north end of Anti-Lebanon, is fully accordant with the prominence and ancient importance of the historic Amorite city of Kadesh, familiar in Hittite as *KINZA* and in Egyptian as Kodshe. The general situation is indicated in the various contexts;[2] and Professor Breasted's study of *The Battle of Kadesh*,[3] in the light of the local topography, leaves no room for doubt as to their identity. The mound rises above the marshy plain to the south of the Lake of Homs on the tongue of ground enclosed by the upper stream of the ORONTES (Nahr el Asy) and a tiny tributary; while an artificial canal, still visible, provided a water protection all around the site: this is the characteristic feature of contemporary Egyptian representations.[4] The mound rises to a height of a hundred feet, and extends for nearly a thousand yards. Its visible upper surface suggests an enclosed area; and excavations,[5] which in places have reached down to a depth of sixty feet, have demonstrated the presence of strong external defensive walls of various ages. The presence of Seti I. at Kadesh before the great battle is recorded on an inscribed stela; but the excavations, so full of promise, came to an untimely end, before the strata of this period had been explored or the earlier levels reached. The indications obtained from the work accomplished agree with the literature on the subject, in pointing to a centre of Amorite or Syrian culture, of non-Ḫattic type. Doubtless the presence or passage of Subbiluliuma will have left a trace; but only when the earlier strata have given their evidence will it be possible to estimate how much the indigenous culture of this city—like that of Qatna—owed to its contact with the Ḫattic area or shared in a common culture of the Hittite world.

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[1] Breasted, *A.R.*, iv. 64.

[2] Some have preferred the site of Homs, where also there is an imposing mound, but the detailed indications are not in agreement. The Hittite record of Subbiluliuma's line of march southwards by the Orontes places it beyond *QATNA*.

[3] University Press of Chicago, 1904.

[4] *E.g.* on the walls of the Theban temples; for the sources see Breasted, *A.R.*, iii., pp. 298-348; cf. the same writer's *History of Egypt*, pp. 425 ff.

[5] Maurice Pézard, *Mission . . . Syria*, iii. (1921), pp. 89 ff.

KADESH marks the southerly limit of the group of important city states upon the ORONTES, which included Hamath, Restan, Homs and effectively Qatna, without counting those like Ni and Zinzar, the modern sites of which are not determined. From this point we pass to the neighbourhood of Damascus and the South.

SHEIKH SA'AD, which lies some fifty miles south and west of Damascus, occupies a strategic position almost on the northern watershed of the river Yarmuk, athwart the road which leads from Damascus down to the Jordan Valley at the lower end of the Sea of Galilee. The position was occupied by Ramses II. (*c.* 1290 B.C.), presumably after that Pharaoh had re-established his military position at and around Bethshan, and before proceeding northwards to join issue with the Hittite armies at KADESH. The great lion corner-stone from this place, of which we give an illustration,[1] belongs, if we are not mistaken, to an earlier phase of art and a pre-Ḫattic school. The design and execution of this sculpture are alike full of distinction. The beast is strong and imbued with life and vigour, though not frenzied with rage or excitement. The convention so familiar in Hittite and Assyrian art of placing the two forepaws side by side is here not complied with, and the effect is more realistic. The treatment of mane and muscles is also not that of the Ḫattic canon. Its very size is altogether exceptional, for it is no less than eight feet in length.

There lurks in the execution of this fine monument the suggestion of an older Syrian art and culture of special excellence, corresponding to the era of great cities which excavation shows to have flourished during the Middle Bronze Age, and still prospered when the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty began to drain their riches. In this epoch would fall the local kingdom of Og of Bashan, of which history also has preserved a shadowy recollection.[2]

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[1] See Pl. LIII. (*a*), facing p. 330.

[2] Cf. Contenau, *Syria*, v. pp. 208-9; also Dussaud, *Syria*, vii. p. 345.

(c) Southern Syria

The southernmost penetration of the Hittites, already indicated in Biblical narrative, is now attested by the evidence of the remains, though at present these are necessarily scanty. The main routes from Central Syria, whether from the coast of Sidon or from Damascus, converge in the upper Jordan Valley upon a point near the ancient fords of the river just below Lake Huleh. The junction of these important roads was controlled in ancient times by a great fortress or rather enclosed encampment, strikingly similar in character to that of Mishrefeh which has been described above.

Hazor,[1] the site now known as Tell el Qedah, was the chief city of the Canaanites which figures prominently in the Biblical narratives of Joshua and Deborah and was not less well known to the Egyptians [2] and the Ḫattic kings. Its chieftain was, in fact, denounced to the Pharaoh Amenhetep III.[3] as leaning to the side of the confederates who were already at that date masters of Central Syria. The strategic value of the site readily explains the part which it played in checking or facilitating the onward movement of the Hittites. From here roads radiate into Northern Palestine, and in particular south-westwards into the plain of Esdraelon, where a row of fortresses, Jokneam, Megiddo, Ta'anach and Ibleam formed the frontier-line between the Egyptian Pharaohs and the Hittite-Amorite Confederacy with whom they contested Palestine.

Hazor proves on excavation not only to resemble Qatna in essential features, but to have developed with curious and suggestive parallelism. The site consists of two connected parts, namely, a great city-mound or Tell, and an associated camp enclosure, to which the mound forms at once the southern boundary and the acropolis. This stupendous Tell rises 165 feet above the watercourse at its foot. It came into being as a fortified city in the Early Bronze Age, apparently long before 2000 B.C.; later, about 1700 B.C., at a much higher level, the city was refortified, again with rough stone walls. Some centuries later it fell on evil days, and did not revive until rebuilt by King Solomon in the tenth century B.C. It fell eventually before Assyria. The great camp enclosure had a shorter history. It occupies a naturally defensible area, some 1000 yards by 600, with an extension to the East. During the Middle Bronze Age (say, about 1800 B.C.) it appears to have been deliberately enclosed and fortified by great ramparts of beaten earth; numerous houses sprang up within the area, and for some centuries indeed both acropolis and camp enjoyed their maximum prosperity. During the Late Bronze Age, the middle date of which is 1400 B.C., the

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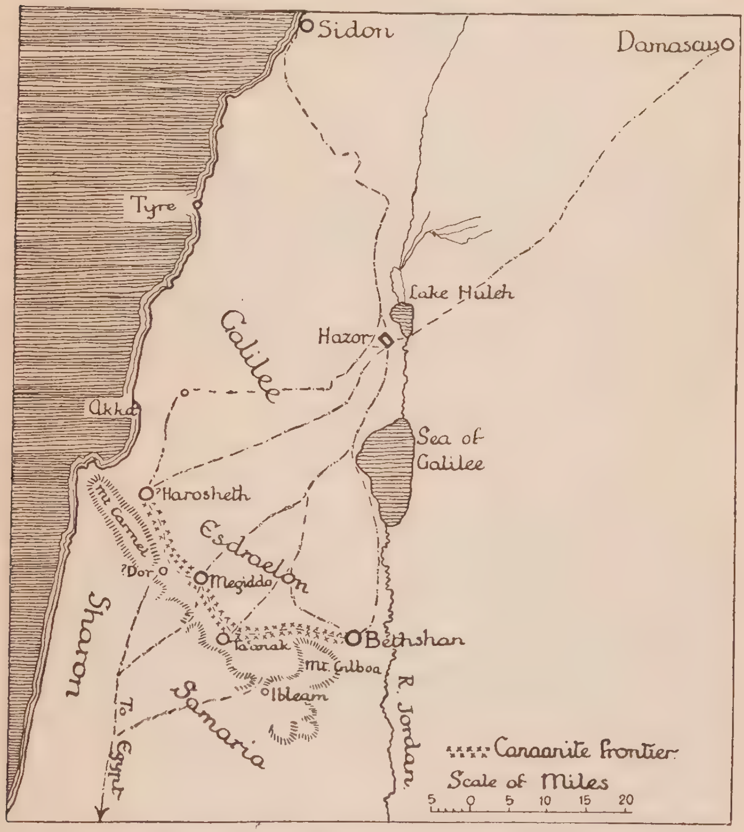
[1] *Liv. A.A.*, xiv. (1927), pp. 35 ff.

[2] *E.g.* Anastasi papyrus, *Eg. Hier. Texts*, ed. Gardiner, Pt. I., p. 23.

[3] Knudtzon, *T.A. Letters*, Nos. 1 and 8, etc.; also Thureau Dangin, *Rev. Assyr.*, xix. p. 98. Cf. Dhorme, *Rev. Biblique* (1924), p. 5.


Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Lake Huleh
Hazor
Galilee
Akka
Sea of Galilee
Harosheth
Mt Carmel
Esdraelon
?Dor
Megiddo
Sharon
Taanak
Bethshan
Mt Gilboa
Ibleam
Samaria
R. Jordan
To Egypt
Canaanite frontier
Scale of Miles
5 0 5 10 15 20

SOUTHERN SYRIA: THE HITTITE PENETRATION OF PALESTINE.

'Camp' was destroyed completely, and permanently evacuated. Unlike Qatna, this destruction was probably not done by the advancing Hittites, to whose side the King of Hazor did not hesitate to turn, though he also informed the Pharaoh that he was 'keeping' Hazor with its dependent cities. Nor does Hazor figure in the list of cities destroyed in later campaigns of the Pharaohs. Excavations, though disclosing evidence of destruction, have produced, as yet, no traces of its authors, nor any material sign of Hittite occupation. None the less, Hazor, by its position and from its record, must have played an all-important part in the development of events following Subbiluliuma's descent into Syria; and further excavation will no doubt illustrate this period, as has proved to be the case in its dependent cities, particularly Bethshan.

Excavations at Megiddo [1] have brought to light a memory of this period in the shape of a small bronze figure of a Hittite warrior, armed with sword and shield and wearing the characteristic conical head-dress.

Tiberias.—A southerly route from Hazor leads towards Bethshan (Beisan) by way of Tiberias, where a piece of sculpture has been unearthed, simulating the later Hittite style. This takes the form of a block of dolerite some seven feet in length, carved in high relief with a conventional design representing two animals (presumably lions) in the act of attacking two gazelles (?). The whole is symmetrically arranged, and surrounded with a 'coil' border. There is no clear indication of Hittite workmanship but the composition of the group and technical details of the work, so far as these can now be discovered, recall the later art of Sakje-Geuzi and Sinjerli and some of the later monuments of Marash. The stone is reported to have been dug up early this century from a garden into a wall of which it has now been built.

Bethshan itself occupied an imposing mound called Tell el Hosn, which rises to the north-west of modern Beisan at the strategical point where the valley of the *Jalud* (the vale of Jezreel) enters that of the Jordan. Here excavations have been proceeding systematically for a number of years,[2]

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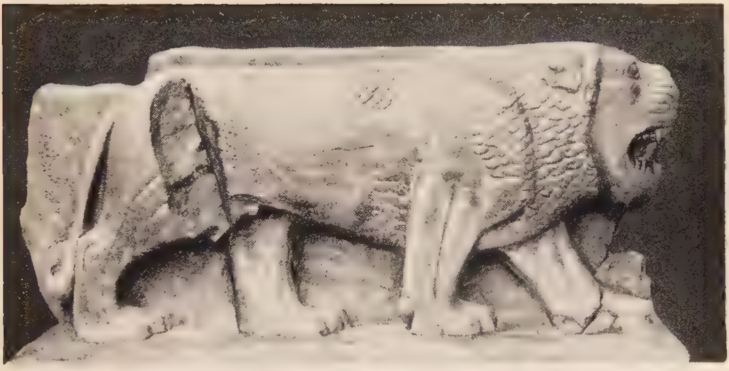
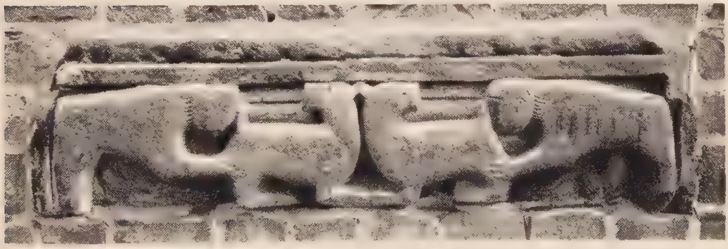
[1] Under the auspices of the Rockefeller expedition of the University of Chicago, Oriental Institute.

[2] Under the auspices of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania



(*a*) SHEIKH SA'AD : LION CORNER-STONE IN EARLY HITTITE STYLE. *See p.* 327.



(*b*) TIBERIAS : CARVING IN LATE HITTITE STYLE.

TWO MONUMENTS OF SOUTHERN SYRIA.

and the remains recovered from the continually deepening levels have shed a wonderful light upon the culture and fortunes of the city at successive epochs. The activities of the Pharaohs, in particular, receive fresh illustration, which at the same time confirms in general the outline already derived from Egyptian sources. To the Egyptians the city was known as *Bet-shayr*, and its possession was to them a matter of considerable importance, for it covered the right flank of their main line of communication with Damascus by way of Megiddo and Hazor. In any case it seems to have been promptly occupied by Thothmes III., following his siege and capture of Megiddo, *c.* 1478 B.C. At that time Bethshan seems to have been inhabited by a Syro-Hittite or Mesopotamian-Hittite population, who left behind as witness of their presence one of the most instructive carvings yet found in Syria.[1] This is apparently a temple dado relief, about three feet in length, decorated with two scenes of a struggle between the lion (representing in this case the Babylonian Nergal rather than the Hittite Astarte) and the guardian dog of the local shrine (again a Babylonian motive). The theme of these sculptures is new to Syria; the treatment of the lion is not in the Ḫattic canon: it corresponds rather (though only executed in relief) to the style of the Sheikh Sa'ad lion which we have just described. The mane again is carried over the back in a curve, as may be seen on some Egyptian representations; while certain details of the limbs correspond in some respects to parallel features on one of the lions from Carchemish, but more generally and more nearly to the treatment which characterises the lions and art of Tell Halaf (Ros el Ain) upon the Khabur in Mesopotamia,[2] in the heart of the Mitannian area. Upon the shoulder of the beast there is a tuft of hair or a star after the Babylonian fashion. This carving is a veritable link between Babylonia and Egypt, indeed between East and West; and the nearest prototypes are to be found, as we have seen, in Northern Mesopotamia. In this connection we must not omit to note the significance of a further

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(Philadelphia). The results are published in the Museum *Journal* of that institution. See, in particular, 1926 ff.

[1] See the *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 22, 1928, p. 1181.

[2] *Der Alte Orient* (1908), i.; Dr. Max von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf*, Abb. 4, 6, etc.

discovery, also recently announced, of a memorial tablet of Thothmes III. found upon the deserted site of Tell Oreimeh (possibly the Egyptian *Yenoam*) which rises above Tabgha on the north-western shore of the Sea of Galilee. This memorial commemorates the Pharaoh's victory over Mitanni. We ask ourselves in vain why this monument should have been set up in Northern Palestine. Does it really refer to that distant campaign in *Naharain* and beyond the Euphrates which the Pharaoh is known to have carried out in the 33rd year of his reign: or does it indicate, like the several sculptured objects we have considered, the presence of a Mitannian-Hittite element in the population that had established itself by the fifteenth century B.C. in various districts of Canaan to the south of Hermon? [1]

However that may be, from the levels of the period of Thothmes III. there come numerous Syro-Hittite seals, as well as the curved scimitar figured in our Plate XIX. At that time the people of Beisan worshipped their own version of the storm-god whom they called Mekal, and also a deity of the Astarte type. The shrines of the goddess at several epochs have been discovered and excavated. It was at the foot of her altar that was found the most instructive deposit of all, that which contained the pronged battleaxe and a number of Syro-Hittite seals, dated by their context and levels to the Tell-el-Amarna period, which saw the southern penetration of Subbiluliuma of Ḫatti and his Amorite allies. To the same age pertain the traces of a Migdol or Tower, the gate of which was in the Hittite style of Carchemish, and within it was found a bronze figurine, thought, from the headgear and the position of its hands, to have resembled Teshub. Finally from the same level came a haematite seal engraved with familiar Hittite figures of the Iasily Kaya type, with which the excavator records the presence of two characteristic hieroglyphic signs.[2]

These discoveries, coupled with parallel indications elsewhere, show unmistakably that during the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, from the time of Akhenaten, Palestine was lost to Egypt, being absorbed effectively within the sphere of influence of the Ḫattic conqueror, and so remained during the reign of his successor Mursil. At the close of the fourteenth century, however, Seti I. and Ramses II. began an organised effort to recover the lost possessions and prestige of Egypt in Syria. Beisan was re-occupied; three monumental inscriptions were set up telling of various military dispositions and achievements. Upon the hill (ever rising with the years) there was constructed a stout fortress of brick which still stood as the strong place of the city in the age of Ramses III. at the beginning of the twelfth century B.C., the date of the destruction of the Ḫattic power.

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[1] Cf. Joshua ii. 3 in the LXX. version.

[2] For information on the current work and discoveries of Bethshan we are indebted to Mr. Alan Rowe, who publishes more detailed reports in the Museum *Journal* (Philadelphia), *q.v.*

It only remains to notice three further sites in Palestine where traces of Hittite influence or occupation have been unearthed.

At SHECHEM excavations have shown [1] that the northern gate of the fortress was reconstructed in the Late Bronze Age upon the North Syrian 'Ḫilani' plan.

At JERUSALEM,[2] where the ancient Jebus, the city of David on Mount Ophel, has been recently investigated, there has been found among the potsherds of the Late Bronze Age a jar handle stamped with three Hittite hieroglyphs. The signs are ideographic and represent a solar disc, a mountain, and a conical hat. Only the last of these is peculiarly Hittite, but this in itself is sufficient evidence of the origin of the fragment. The presence of Hittite objects at Jerusalem is not surprising to those who have followed the tendency of modern research. The name Abd-Khipa, borne by the military governor of the city under the Pharaoh Amenhetep III., is of Mitannian-Hittite character, and it is increasingly probable that the prophet Ezekiel's allusion to Jerusalem, 'Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother an Hittite,' really discloses the original racial stock of the city's population.[3] The Biblical narrative indeed suggests an infiltration of Hittite settlers into Palestine centuries before the conquests of Subbiluliuma.

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[1] See the Reports by Dr. Sellin in the *Zeitschr. d. Deut. Palästina Vereins*, espy. vol. l., Heft iv.

[2] See the P.E.F. Memoir on the excavation of Ophel, p. 189, fig. 203. For this reference we are indebted to Professor Sayce, who reads the three ideograms: 'The (Hittite) Sun-god of the Mountains.'

[3] Ezek. xvi. 3.

Finally we may note that at Tell Jemmeh (GERAR) on the verge of the Egyptian desert, Professor Petrie has recently dug up a ring inscribed in Hittite characters. We mention this because, though the object itself does not really come within the scope of this volume, its discovery marks, for the time being, the most southerly point of the diffusion of Hittite influence.

Looking back through these pages, we find that most of the monuments of Syria pertain to the period after 1200 B.C., when the bonds of the Ḫattic Empire were broken and the fragments of its power were distributed between separated centres, like Hamath, Carchemish, and Sinjerli. The consequent diverging tendencies in art were not wholly reunited under the common influence of Assyria, which however gradually submerged the distinctive Hittite traces. In Syria, monuments of the earlier period, that of Ḫattic rule, are relatively few, and mostly confined to the North; for though the actual invasions of the fourteenth century can be traced as far as Palestine, we look in vain even in Central Syria for evidence of occupation or indeed of direct administration. This observation agrees also with what we know from certain contemporary records of the organisation of the vassal state of the Ḫattic Empire. In Northern Syria, noticeably at Aintab, Aleppo, Carchemish, and Tell Ahmar, and particularly at Sinjerli, we can trace in the wake of the Hittite armies the appearance of a series of monuments, uniform in special characteristics, which seem to attest at least the maintenance of lines of communication for some length of time, and at Sinjerli even of settled occupation. This conclusion accords with the evidence of the monuments of Asia Minor, where the whole period of Ḫattic domination is commemorated not only by the most famous and characteristic group of sculptures near the Capital, but also by clear traces as far as the Euphrates in the East and the Aegean in the West. All this is consistent with the known activities of the Ḫattic rulers in the fourteenth century B.C.; but when we look further back we derive no more evidence from the monuments (unless we have underestimated their antiquity); and evidently wider and deeper excavation both in Northern Syria and in Asia Minor will throw fresh and perhaps surprising light upon the general question. We are convinced that the tale is not yet half told. Such excavation as has been made in these areas, while producing little or nothing distinctively Ḫattic, gives evidence of common elements of culture as far back as the Middle Bronze Age. It was at the beginning of this prosperous period that the dominant power of Aleppo was first challenged by the aspirations of Ḫatti. The relation is significant. It suggests that the invasion of Syria by the first Mursil marked not so much an expansion of Hittite dominion as the absorption by Ḫatti of another unit of Hittite power, as in the beginning with Kussar. In other words, there is the suggestion of a common stock and culture throughout Northern Syria, Taurus, and the plateau of Asia Minor. This conclusion seems to be fully justified by the earliest glimpse of relations which excavation has afforded, as between Sakje-Geuzi, Susa, and the Troad. These places are much wider apart, yet there is evidence that they shared a common culture in the latter part of the Neolithic Period.

These indications are vague and incomplete, but they serve as a guide and stimulus to future research. Excavation must provide dated monuments and ceramics of the earlier strata from the Lands of Ḫatti, Ḫarri, Mitanni, and Northern Syria, before we can appreciate the fuller significance of the words which form the title of our volume, the 'Hittite Empire.'

EPOCHS IN HITTITE HISTORY AND ART

(*Dates approximate*)

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2000. Ḫattic Capital established at Boghaz-Keui, pp. 2, 71.
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ḪATTIC EMPIRE

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C.I.H. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum* (Messerschmidt). *Liv. A.A.* = *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology.* For other abbreviations see p. xvii. For full Bibliography see Contenau, *Éléments de Bibl. Hittite* (Paris, 1922-1927).

Aintab : Sculptured and Inscribed Corner-stone, pp. 312-13.
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